DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 070 424 HE 003 668

AUTHOR	Hebert, Tom; Frank, Virginia
TITLE	The Brazos Bottoms Next Time: A Discussion of Black Colleges, Federal Dollars and Social Change. A Staff Paper.
INSTITUTION	Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Ga.
PUB DATE	Oct 72
NOTE	132p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	Civil Rights; *Equal Education; *Federal Aid; *Federal Programs; *Higher Education; Minority Groups; *Negro Colleges; Negro Education

ABSTRACT

Federal consciousness of minority issues in general and of black colleges in particular is increasing daily as programs are instituted to promote equality among the various races in the U.S. This paper reviews some government social agencies where signs of progress are already visible: Model Cities, Social Rehabilitation, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the new Minority Center at the National Institute of Mental Health. Also discussed are some areas of the federal government machinery that seem almost totally unresponsive to black college concerns: the Departments of Transportation and Interior, programs of vocational and environmental education, and programs in health services and mental health. It is clear that black college relationships with the social agencies of government need still more public attention and pressure. (HS)

ED 070424

THE BRAZOS BOTTOMS NEXT TIME

A Discussion of

Black Colleges, Federal Dollars and Social Change

A Staff Paper

by

Tom Hebert and Virginia Frank
1503 Que St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

for the

Southern Education Foundation

October, 1972

HE00 3668

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CHAPTER ONE

BACK TO THE BRAZOS BOTTOMS

The Brazos River drifts through central Texas, watering the black soil on its way to the Gulf and providing one of few amenities in Waco. The Brazos Bottoms is the name given to the areas where the black people have put together their community. They are visited by regular floods, but by few doctors, lawyers, bankers, or extension agents.

For many years, former Howard University President Mordecai Johnson would end his annual Bacclaureate Sermon with a call for his graduates to go forth from the University to toil and serve in all the "Brazos Bottoms" of the black communities. Quite a number followed his call; but as is the nature of college graduates, most took the high road away from the bottoms to worldly things and advancement. Nowadays, a good many people believe that a limited college mission of providing professionals to the black communities is dated; the black colleges are thinking about additional ways to make their resources and processes count for social change.

Black Americans have been victims of inadequate social services and discriminatory public policy for decades. Does that experience give black institutions a special perspective on human and community needs, and a special capacity to meet them? Another question follows that: are black colleges,

devoted to educating the young, the proper institutions to undertake that challenge?

It is our feeling that an aggressive pursuit of social service programs by at least some black colleges is a good idea. There are already individual administrators and faculty who are on this track. There should be more of them, both in the general public interest and in the interest of education.

The public interest requires some drastic rethinking of the whole federal approach to development. Government leadership, apparently without much opposition or discussion, is gearing up large new programs to improve the quality of life in America: health services, transportation systems, environmental improvements, education schemes, urban renewal, and so on. And they are often doing it by means of the R & D technique, by reliance on technology and academic research, by investing in the "expertise" of professionals and bureaucrats who want to use the "scientific method" to design a better world. Witness the RANN (Research Applied to National Needs) program of the National Science Foundation. Witness that the Rand Corporation is invited to design the new National Institute for Education. Witness research grants to computerized academic centers to examine minority "problems". Look in any of a hundred federal offices and you will find the same kind of faith in academic expertise, and the same kind of program guidelines.

If black colleges are not only strong enough to demand their share of development dollars, but courageous enough to challenge the premises on which social programs are frequently based, their entry into the fray could have a serious impact. Technology and R & D expertise have cost a very high price in destruction and alienation. Huge scale, lots of hardware, complex laboratories, and due regard for channels and government imperatives mark the institutional receivers of federal grants. As Theodore Roszak points out: "Before the earth could become an industrial garbage can, it had first to become a research laboratory."[1] The grant applicant who can organize clout behind a different approach, who can demonstrate the failure of R & D to enhance the lives of minorities or anyone else, and who can effectively claim support for the life-enriching community based demonstrations -- carrried out by people in their own environment, tested by their immediate results in individual benefits -- will be advancing the public interest as well as his own.

Further, the monopoly of elite institutions and public multiversities needs to be broken. The government rationale

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[1] "Science, A Technocratic Trap" Atlantic Monthly, July, 1972.

("they have the research plant, they have the program capacity") can be challenged. Things which are currently going badly in this society cannot be cured by larger doses of the same medicine. The government can and should break the mold, value flexibility, be willing to pay for new kinds of institutional bases, diversity of ideas, new attitudes.

Single applicants cannot turn the system around, but groups of applicants making maximum use of their minority power might consider trying.

The educational interest is another matter entirely, and perhaps nearer to general understanding and acceptance. A college that devotes itself to grantsmanship, that encourages its faculty to undertake community projects or training projects for people other than its enrolled undergraduates, or politically controversial experiments in new forms of social organization, will most certainly change the educational environment for its students. But it need not be a less educationally productive one. A faculty member who runs a project does not necessarily spend less time with students -- just different kinds of time. Students may spend less hours in class -- but perhaps more hours with books and with ideas. It is hard work to engage students in education when they are not captive in the classroom and measured by standard tests.

But there is a growing school of thought which claims that the results will be of more genuine value to the student.

The burden of innovation, challenge, maintenance of vision in the face of uneven success, and sheer work which all this proposes to black colleges is perhaps unrealistic. That under-funded and recently invisible colleges should leap to a new style, should cast off orthodoxy when they are scarcely admitted to confirmation,may be a misguided notion. But if these institutions look hard at American society they may decide not to be a cog in the standard wheel. If they can build on a different experience of struggle and survival, make new connections between education and the racial and class divisions that mark the times, they might find a holistic insight of great importance to their students and the society.

Finally, there is a rather pragmatic postscript to add to the case. If black institutions address themselves to federal social and community programs, they will become a presence in planning government policy for the future. Without such participation, they will lose a platform and a service base, and will lose the advantage of being one of the presently critical sources of black institutional strength.

But in some agencies the process is working more or less well. In this chapter we will look at seven programs that represent some form of significant increase in funding, some model for how that can be accomplished. Some of them result from activities of strong black bureaucrats in key positions, some rely on outside councils or contracts to black groups. Some focus on increasing participation in a specific agency program, some are trying to stimulate broad packages which cut across agencies. Some seem to work well without much identifiable new structure (Model Cities) and some have set up a special new program and funding set-aside within an agency. The last two of the seven (Rural Assistance Consortium of OEO and the EDA contract with the Cooperative College Assistance Program) are too new and ambitious in goals to be entirely evaluated yet. But all of them represent an affirmative action program, and deserve study and support.

CHAPTER TWO

WHERE THE ACTION IS

The relationship between black colleges and the federal government has gone through several changes in the last five or six years, beginning from a condition of nearly total unawareness on the part of federal agencies. The government approach might be described, in chronological order, something like this:

* the "mail a program announcement to the college President and not notice what comes back" stage;
* the "come to Washington and learn the ropes" stage;
* the"conference to explain the guidelines" stage;
* the "conference turning into a confrontation" stage;
* the "in-house advisory council and newsletter" stage;
* the "consortium or umbrella agency" stage.

Although the government has arrived at what it likes to think of as an equity level of funding to black colleges (four percent of the total federal higher education budget), there is nevertheless a more sophisticated understanding in some federal agencies of why black colleges still aren't entirely in the club. Some new process is getting invented all the time, and the current stage might be called: "government will help black colleges study and assess their needs and desires so that they can better frame their proposals to agencies that have no more mind or money to give to black colleges than they ever had".

A. Model Cities

Model Cities began with a can-do, ends over means approach to its mission, which was to develop a strategy for ending urban decay and the exclusion of many town and city dwellers from mainstream America. According to Daniel Moynihan "the decision (Nixon's)was made in 1968 to keep Model Cities and redirect it into line with the general Administration position or urban government -- strengthen the mayor's powers rather then fractionate them and no more emphasis on gilding the ghetto". The funding of Model Cities has increased from $216 million in 1968 to $707 billion in 1971.

In line with the common practice of always turning to "experts", generally white and expensive, Model Cities didn't give any money to black colleges until 1970. After the 1969 FICE inquiry and some attention at the highest level of HUD it was determined that 97 black colleges were eligible to aid the 147 Model Cities projects.

Since 1970 Dr. Oscar Mims, a black, has had responsibility at Model Cities headquarters to insure the participation of black colleges. For the FICE report he undertook a "meticulous analysis" of all the approved MC projects and discovered eight grants to the black schools in 1970. He contracted for a two day conference in 1971 for MC staff, foundation folk, and presidents of 45 black colleges located in Model Cities areas,

entitled "Opportunities for Black Colleges within a Transitional Model Cities Program". The conference aimed to inform the participants about the program and its possibilities for black schools, to encourage the schools to take part and to talk about the specific sorts of projects that would be welcome; apparently it was a great success. Local directors were given the name and phone numbers of local black college contacts. A detailed questionnaire was sent out to the participating colleges; many responded that they seriously wanted to be involved and had the resources.

This effort on the part of Model Cities has worked. In FY 1971 there were about 23 black colleges with grants from Model Cities; the funding level will be dramatically high. One college, Texas Southern, had grants of almost $1,000,000, considerably higher than the total that went to all black colleges in 1970 ($669,935). With increased awards there seems to be a shift from grants to contracts, more technical in nature, more involement in Model Cities planning, etc.

HUD officials seem convinced that the black schools will establish their capabilities quickly, and build on their commitment to urban development. Even in the absence of special consortia or technical assistance agencies, this program seems to be turning around. The credit seems to go to effective black staff with high-level government support.

B. Social and Rehabilitation Service

The local black doctor was telling the white administrators down from Washington, and the black educators from around the country, what it takes to get some courtesy, justice and service for his black patients:

> "It takes this kind of 'bird dogging' of the system to get the job done; you just can't send them down there and expect that they (the hospital's white staff) are going to do right themselves. Not most of the time. I send them down and am ready to pick up the phone and 'scream like a panda' and have the man think that I am going to have everybody in the county down on his neck and then he'll treat them right."

That sort of "encouragement" was what this conference of black educators and staff from the Social and Rehabilitation Service was all about. It was held at Albany State College, in Georgia, March 1971, for HEW staff from Washington and the regions, and black educators came from black schools' departments of social welfare and sociology. Funded by SRS out of Social Work Training funds, it was part of a series of meetings between the black colleges and the Washington agency.

"The principal concern of SRS is human resource development...." Organized in 1967, SRS provides a "unified approach to HEW programs that are concerned with problems of persons needing assistance payments, services to aged, services to the handicapped as well as to serve families with children. The agency is composed of six major divisions:

Administration on Aging (OA)
Assistance Payments Administration (APA)
Community Services Administration (CSA)
Medical Services Administration (MSA)
Rehabilitation Services Administration (RSA)
Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration

> "The mission of the Social and Rehabilitation Service is to enable America's vulnerable and handicapped people -- those physically and mentally disabled, the aging, children and youth, and impoverished families -- to move from dependency, alienation and deprivation toward independence, constructive contribution to society, and realization of their individual potentials."

It is obvious that an organization that says that about itself and gave only 1.2 percent of its $68 million of college money in 1969 to black schools was not making enough effort to bring black resources to bear on problems that affect the black community. To change that situation, SRS held the meetings that led up to the big conference in March 1971 and the establishment of BECHS (Black Educators Council for Human Service). The conference can serve as a model for other agencies that want to establish communication between themselves and the black faculty they should be referring to.

Will Scott, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Social Science at North Carolina A & T got things going:

> "Let's face it! We are in a capitalistic system and in order to deliver goods and services, you have got to have money. There is no question in my mind about that.... Just two weeks ago in Washington,

> there was an outright commitment made to sponsor ten so-called 'Research Institutes', of these ten institutes, two were to go to institutions that had predominantly Spanish speaking students, and the remainder were to go to institutions that served predominantly black students. The institutes were supposed to be funded at $25,000. Any of you who are in research should know that with $25,000 you may be able to buy a researcher. You will not buy computer time, you will not buy interviewing time, you will not buy the other kinds of needed supporting services. I mention this as an illustration because in each federal region already funded by SRS, there is an institute for Social Welfare Research to the total of $100,000 and more a year. What does it mean when we are offered one for $25,000 and there are others in existance being funded at the level of $100,000? Well, it means this: it means if you choose to play that $25,000 game, and again not have the money for supporting services, that the output is not going to be "qualitative", not going to be good, and that's the kind of game we have been in all along. We have been asked to take a little bit and exceptionally produce with it, while other institutions are given a great deal and the expectations are quite different".

That straight talk also got some results: $143,000 was shortly awarded to Lincoln University for a "Feasability Study: Research Centers for Black Colleges".

A bit later he was telling about the little groups of friends who

> "get on one end of the phone,and say, 'Hey, would you like to be a reader, or a reviewer, or a consultant?' The significant thing is that there are little groups of friends throughout the system and we tend not to be members of those little groups of friends."

The conference went on to some technical presentations by federal staff, talks by college faculty who had already

been funded and had experience to share, and some tough self-analysis of the barriers to quality programs within the colleges themselves. It wound up with the following recommendations, among others, and some commitments and promises all around:

Recommendations

* SRS should establish an interdisciplinary advisory committees at the national level which would do the following:

    a. Evaluate SRS's policies, procedures and criteria.
    b. Review all proposals related to black people.
    c. Disseminate information.
    d. Establish lines of communication among black colleges and universities.

* There should be black people on all SRS's decision-making and policy implementation committees.

* A "clearing house" (communication center) should be established for the acquisition and dissimination of information.

* There should be no further research supported by SRS that deals with black people unless there are black professionals involved.

* Black educators should be provided opportunities to intern in SRS.

* SRS should provide the necessary funds to conduct institutes for teaching blacks the art of grantsmanship.

* Due to the financial base of most black colleges and universities, they should not be expected to assume total responsibility for programs operation at the conclusion of a four or five year project.

* Black people should be employed in decision making positions at the local, state, regional and national levels in SRS programs.

* SRS should establish the following programs in black colleges and universitites:

  a. Three Research Institutes funded at not less than $250,000 per year which would have a mandate for educating black people in research, beginning at the undergraduate level.

  b. Three Research and Training Centers, one of them to deal with the development of instructional resources and materials.

  c. Several Rehabilitation Counselor Training Programs at the graduate and undergraduate levels.

  d. Additional undergraduate programs in Speech Pathology and Audiology.

* A summary or compendium of all SRS grant awards to colleges, universities, corporations, etc. concerning the study of black people should be periodically sent to black educators.

* SRS should monitor and enforce policies related to the ethnic balance at all occupational levels in programs and projects funded by SRS. Funds should be withheld from violators.

What came out of this process between SRS and the colleges? Probably the most important result was the establishment of BECHS, the Black Educators Council for Human Services, at a level of $50,000 for one year. It is designed to "assist educators in black colleges and SRS staff with planning, policy and procedures at SRS, and to strengthen SRS related programs in black colleges and universities."

The Chairman of the Executive Committee of BECHS says,

"Translation of the state and federal agencies' commitment into real dollars for sustained comprehensive program development and support is yet to come".

But the summer faculty internship mentioned above was apparently quite a success; if such a program were in effect in each of the large federal agencies that work with black schools, the processes of their work and the "little groups of friends" could become known quite quickly in the circle of black colleges.

Also, BECHS's magazine "Share" is doing a good job of spreading news around about things that concern black educators and vigorously monitoring such items as minority hiring policies in the Washington office of SRS.

The 1971 funding figures show an increase of 85 percent over the FICE figures for 1969: a jump from $842,000 to $1,559,222 in two years. A planned, coherent attack has been made on the barriers that prevent black colleges from participating in the large array of rehabilitation programs. More than rhetoric, it requires a continuing monitoring process both in the colleges and in the agency.

An external group funded by the agency with a strong self interest, like BECHS, can be a valuable model of how to change the flow of funds.

C. Environmental Protection Agency

It works every time: get the agency to call a conference and then turn the heat on high enough to get a dollar commitment then and there. But the key to making that work is the question of who is in charge -- the administrators down from Washington explaining the small print on grant applications, or the aggreived parties who are left out, who want hard dollar commitments.

The second way is what happened at a conference at Morris Brown College in October, 1971, called by EPA to "acquaint universities and colleges having predominantly black enrollment with the grants and fellowship programs available to them through the Agency". Dr. Stanley Greenfield, EPA's Assistant Administrator for Research and Monitoring, got acquainted with the hard realities facing black colleges competing for science grants. He was told that if there was going to be any black college participation in the programs at EPA, the agency was going to have to do more than acquaint the schools with the programs, he was going to have to introduce them to some money. The up-shot of the October 1971 conference was a line item program at EPA, "Minority Institutions Research Support Program (MIRS)", funded at $500,000 for the first year FY 1973. It is a substantial first step for this new agency.

The EPA was formed in late 1970. It gathers together agencies, bureaus and councils from all over the federal establishment that have to do with pollution control and research. Programs came from Interior, HEW, AEC, Agriculture and independent agencies.

> "The United States Environment Protection Agency, reporting directly to the President, was charged with mounting an integrated, coordinated attack on pollution, filling the need, in the President's words, for a 'strong, independent agency' to serve as an objective, impartial arbiter of environmental matters, particularly in establishing and enforcing pollution control standards."
>
> -- "Toward a New Environmental Ethic", EPA 1971.

EPA has as its major concerns the environmental problems of air and water pollution, solid wastes management, pesticides, radiation and noise. It has ten Regional Offices, three National Environmental Research Centers (one of which is in North Carolina) and 17 other laboratories scattered around the country. Thus it has some in-house research capability.

According to unpublished FICE figures, EPA gave grants to colleges and universities of $18,391,800 for research and fellowships in 1971. Of this amount, $146,700 (.8%) went to black colleges. This is not really new EPA money at all, as the $146,700 represents two Department of Interior Pollution Control grants totalling about $77,000 to Tuskegee and Howard and a $60,000 total for two grants to the same schools from

HEW's Environmental Health Service. These grants are already reported in the 1970 FICE Report, and were passed to EPA when the Water Pollution bureau from Interior and the Radiological and Environmental Control program at HEW were arabesqued over to the new EPA.

Thus when EPA was formed only Howard and Tuskegee, and a little bit of Shaw, had ever had experience with any of the programs that went into EPA. It is not surprising that many months after EPA had been launched black schools had received none of the new EPA research grants. Apparently the issue was "forcefully raised in a heated discussion" by a black council member, Rev. Leroy Hacker of Pittsburgh at a meeting of the National Advisory Environmental Control Council (now disbanded). The Council passed a resolution to EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus, saying that a mechanism was badly needed to involve black colleges. At the same time, the Equal Opportunity man at EPA, Norris Syndor, got into the picture and began to agitate for some affirmative action.

The October, 1971, conference was a first step. A commitment resulted from the R & D man at EPA, Dr. Greenfield, to support research at black colleges. He soon hired a black scientist, Dr. Willie Ashley, a parasitologist from FDA, as Director of the "Minority Institutions Research Support Program". Most important, he gave Dr. Ashley a $500,000

budget for 1973 to fund proposals from black colleges. Dr. Ashley has requested $850,000 for FY 1974.

Dr. Ashley realized that it is usually middle-level people in federal agencies who spike proposals from black colleges. He formed a system of proposal management that would keep an application alive thru the intricacies of grant review. When proposals from minority institutions arrive in the agency they are stamped "MIRSP"; he is notified that they are in the system, and sets about assembling a review committee that will be appropriate to the proposal. There is both an in-house and an outside review course that has to be run. He provides advice and feedback to the school, explaining precisely why a certain proposal didn't make it.

Right now there are 30 proposals in the works; none has as yet received a grant but "MIRSP" is an independent program, with a budget line of its own. Ashley's money can cut across all program categories. If the reviewers, the other program element directors and Greenfield agree on a proposal, it will get funded without cutting into other budgets.

Dr. Ashley is now traveling around the country visiting as many black schools as possible, explaining the program to administrators and faculty. The research budget for EPA will be about $25,000,000 for FY 1973. $500,000 represents

2*percent of the total, which is at least an improvement over the old days. Naturally though, MIRSP will create some resentment in the bureaucracy, for it clearly is an end run around it. Ashley is not in an enviable position because his mandate to change the system is still vulnerable to budget cutting.

For black colleges interested in EPA's programs, there is an important document available to them from the Office of Equal Opportunity at EPA. It was put out in September, 1971, under the direction of Norris Syndor, now on the White House staff with Robert Brown. It is called "Our Urban Environment and Our Most Endangered People (A Report to the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency by the Task Force on Environmental Problems of the Inner City)". As is stated on the cover, it has not been formally released by the agency, but it is being circulated.

The document lays it on the line to the agency. It describes the environment that inner city people have to contend with, and demonstrates how the poor have the worst environment to live in and the fewest ways of escaping it. It describes current programs and makes many recommendations. Mr. Sydnor suggests that black colleges could make many contributions to the program outlined in the report. There is a great need for paraprofessionals in the environment-related

fields (water pollution, solid waste management particularly). There is one recommendation that could especially interest black schools:

Public Education

The Task Force recommends the establishment of curriculum in the public schools systems, colleges and universities relating urban solid waste problems and possible solutions to students. We do not propose solely the creation of "urban specialists" by this recommendation, but the encouragement of students to take courses dealing with urban environmental issues. These courses will help sustain an environmentally-aware nation. Also, these young people will bring fresh thinking to our inner city problems, and help provide workable solutions.

The report states:

"These are the people who need EPA the most. The urban poor, more than any other population group, need protection from solid waste pollution, air pollution,noise pullution, water pollution and pesticides.

"These forms of environmental deterioration constitute a severe extra burden on that portion of the population already most heavily laden by chance and circumstance. EPA, remaining completely within its mandate, can take a giant step toward eliminating that extra burden -- environmental deterioration."

Norris Syndor and Dr. Ashley do not know if EPA is going to take that step, but black colleges should push EPA to find out. If EPA decides not to, the black community should know about that decision. In the meantime, "MIRSP" should be followed to see how it functions.

D. NIMH Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs

Another unique example of recent activity is over at the National Institute of Mental Health, a vast enterprise with a $400 million annual budget. Later on in this report we'll get into the overall picture of NIMH and its parent agency, HEW's Health Services and Mental Health Administration. But as an example of the new forces in Washington these days, the struggle of black staff and black professionals to end the white-only ways of NIMH through a Center for the Study of Minority Group Health Programs is illuminating.

The Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs, (hereafter, CMGMHP, which is what they sometimes call it) was established in July of 1971. It is part of the Division of Special Mental Health Programs, and is directed by James Ralph, M.S. The general function of the Center is the administration of grants for research to develop increased knowledge of minority groups, their relationships to other groups, and the particular mental health concerns in their communitites. Following is a description of what they will get into:

> "The newly established Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs will be specifically concerned with the training of minority group members for professional careers in the mental health field. It will identify and assist the entry of paraprofessionals into professional mental health careers. Research program efforts will be determined in part by the perceived needs of the various minority

communities as communicated through panels and the ongoing relationships with professional and lay minority groups.

The Center serves as a focal point for Institute activities which bear directly on improving the mental health of minority groups and on increasing the number and competence of minority group members engaged in mental health, research and training.

It stimulates and supports research and training designed to increase knowledge of minority group cultures, the particular mental health problems associated with these cultures, their relationships with other groups, and the perceptions and behavior of the majority group population toward minority cultures....

High priority will be given to projects which focus on those aspects, which have been more seriously neglected by the research community such as:

A. Aspects of normal or non-deviate minority life, (e.g. the intact minority family, the non-criminal minority teenager), with a view to identify the strengths of these communities and the means of maximizing them.

B. The impact of the larger community and its activities upon the minority communities including the relationship of discrimination to social and psychological pathology, the effects of governmental and industrial programs upon minority life, (e.g. free-way location, other land uses, etc.) relationship between institutional practices, policies, professional behavior, and minority group problems.

C. Methodological studies focusing upon improving the measurement of the effects of various actions upon minority groups. Policy studies which might assess the effectiveness of alternative approaches to achieving legitimate goals.

D. Studies of "small" regional or local problems which affect a relatively large segment of minority population and which may have a widespread multiplier effects (e.g. problems of migrant farm workers). The primary focus

> of the program would be to encourage integrated approaches to the studies of minorities and their problems as complementary to the fragmented, categorical, micro-studies which are currently supported throughout other agencies."

The Center organized a conference of black professional in Washington, December 10 and 11, 1971. Attending were psychiatrists,psychologists, sociologists, economists, educators and other mental health professionals and para-professionals. Attending also were black executives and administrators of NIMH as resource people. The group was divided up into four work groups, organized around these issues: 1) the definition of Black Mental Health; 2) manpower requirements necessary for positive Black Mental Health; 3) research needs for positive advancement of Black Mental Health; 4) goals and strategies for the achievement of short and long term mental health objectives of Blacks. Some of the recommendations from the conference that relate specifically to the black colleges:

* That the CMGMHP develop an undergraduate mental health generalist major which would be funded at Black Colleges and universities;

* That CMGMHP support the development of model interdisciplinary research and development centers for work in the area of Black Mental Health. The suggestion was made that centers be established in various regions of the country and in the early phases, located in urban areas and tied to black universities and other institutions.

* That an information dissemination system on available grant support and program priorities be established to increase and improve communications betwee NIMH and black educational institutions.

* That a program in grantsmanship be created which can be made readily available to black institutions preparing grant applications.

* That CMGMHP stimulate and fund research and training grants which will provide protection of black colleges.

It was evidently a good conference; anyone concerned about black colleges would have been warmed by the attention they received.

The Center has been in existence for about a year now. It had early staffing problems, getting the right number and mix of people. One gets that sense that it is still understaffed and under-funded. It has done some good work on getting blacks on NIMH review committees. It is also working on a film on NIMH grantsmanship for minority colleges; a vehcile to explain grant-getting at NIMH. They are working on a master directory of minority institutions and projects relating to black mental health. And they are getting organized. Symbolic of the Center's situtation is the question of its name: is it the Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs or the Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs?

The FY 1972 budget of the Center contains $1.086 million for research and $1.2 million for training. There is an operating budget of $250,000 for the Center. Apparently the Center has generated some proposals and has funded them. To

this end it has held four national conferences of Asian Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, blacks and this year Indians.

The Center, which had its origin in the need to "combat white racism" in the agency itself, has taken on such responsibility that it may be "programmed for failure". It may be asked whether an in-house office can effectively change the place; there is a good deal of demonstrable inertia around HSMHA. Now it seems that a black institution, dependent on a white one, has to change that white one. Is that possible? The burden of merely operating an office consumes much of the energy, time and resources of the small staff. It has been suggested that the Center needs an outside Advisory Council, a permanent body of black professionals that will support the Center and lean on NIMH from the outside. The Center needs all the help it can get.

One of the tests, as we have noted in other agencies that have "affirmative action" plans, is "Does the Center move grants and money into Black Colleges?" Interested parties should read the annual reports of the Center from now on.

E. Division of Manpower and Training, NIMH

There is a second bit of activity at NIMH which bears a closer look, although the general record of NIMH and its sister health agencies is not impressive. This effort is located in the Division of Manpower and Training, and again demonstrates what one senior black official can generate by way of consciousness, if not large money to begin with.

Dr. William Denham, the black associate director of this division, deals with more than $105 million dollars worth of grants a year at current budget levels. Last year that division spent five percent of its budget on projects identified as "minority training projects" (those where at least 25 percent of the trainees were minority people, which thus includes a lot of non-minority work). Only 1.2 percent of those funds went to minority institutions. Dr. Denham says minority groups will sense a real commitment when 25 percent of his budget is going to minority issues; he calls that a critical mass.

Here are the funds that went in training grants to black colleges in 1971, and the list of minority training projects:

Training Grants

Tuskegee	$ 22,318
Howard	262,703
	91,834
	76,238
Atlanta	89,019
Dillard	24,486
Southern	34,881
Meharry	180,401
	107,048
	37,239
Prairie View	22,312
Hampton Institute	17,354
	$1,414,203

Minority Training Projects

FY 1971

	Total Budget	Project Funding	% Total Budget (est.
Psychiatry	$ 39,705,948	-	-
Social Work (9)	11,643,417	$ 648,198	5.5
Nursing (2)	9,973,004	44,293	.5
Experimenta and Special (17)	7,536,430	1,440,498	19.
Continuing Education (2)	4,290,999	44,194	1.
Behavioral Sciences:			
Psychology	14,725,788	249,300	1.6
Fellowships (43)	3,406,668	242,025	7.5
Research Development (1)	4,991,246	29,790	.6
Social Sciences (8)	4,630,737	525,642	11.5
Biological Sciences	4,350,442	-	-
Total DMTP	$105,253,779	$3,223,940	5%

Dr. Denham wrote a long, detailed report this past spring to try to move that commitment to minority issues and institutions forward. It is entitled: "Manpower for Ethnic Minority Group Mental Health: Towards A Blueprint For Action". The report is organized in four parts: 1) Essential Planning Conditions; 2) Minority manpower demands and recent DMTP

responses; 3) Projected courses of action to meet the demands; and 4) Minority training in the context of a redesigned training program.

It is a good document to have although a bit difficult to read, as his language belies the tough message. Here is the list of demands which he has summarized from meetings and conferences with various minority groups:

The Training Demands of Minorities

1. Increasing the volume of minority trainees and fellows in white-controlled training institutions....in proportion to their numbers (minorities) in the general population.

2. Developing the institutional capability of existing and prospective minority-controlled training organizations in all professional and disciplinary areas....

3. The allocation and earmarking of a specific amount of funds in DMTP budget to implement items 1 and 2....

4. The removal of all institutional barriers which are in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Statute:

    a. white-controlled training institutions which impede the recruitment and training of minorities, recruitment and hiring of minority faculty and the development and integration of minority culture-oriented curriculae;

    b. the internal operation of DMTP particularly with respect to IRG Committee membership, consultants, and staff positions.

5. Within the context of the above, priority should be given to the following training needs:

   a. Professional training to develop a pool of minority manpower leadership. Professional credentials are viewed as functional for preparing administrators, planners, policy level operations and not exclusively as professional technicians. Credentials are also seen as enabling minorities to compete more effectively in the mental health manpower market.

   b. A balanced strategy between professional and paraprofessional training.

   c. Continuing education to upgrade competencies of existing minority manpower operating in mental health service delivery and educational settings.

   d. Intensive recruitment effort to fill the vacuum in research training of minority scientists committed to studying problems selected by minorities in terms of their interests and needs.

   e. Better geographical coverage of need for trained minority personnel in unserved or under-served locations, especially the south, southwest, and rural areas.

In the last section he described what his division will have to do with the training budget to meet a real commitment to minority issues. Point two relates directly to black colleges.

1. The allocation of a minimum of 25 percent of the total Division budget of $97 million to the training and development of minority manpower by 1974.

2. At least tripling the allocation of DMTP funds to minority-controlled training institutions by 1974, up to a total of $6 Million.

Inside the Division of Manpower and Training there are eleven departments of offices. They are:

1. Psychiatric Training
2. Psychological Training
3. Social Work
4. Psychiatric Nursing
5. Biological Sciences
6. Socail Sciences
7. Continutin Education Training
8. Experimental and Special Training
9. New Careers Training
10. Fellowships
11. Career Scientists

We were steered towards the Office of Psychological Training because it is the second largest after Psychiatric Training, which does nothing at black colleges. Psychological training had $14.7 million in its FY '71 budget. The Director is Dr. Stan Schneider. He seems to understand the issues regarding black colleges and is sensitive to them. Programs that he has funded:

Howard	$ 65,000	1969-1974
Fisk/Meharry	75,000	1970-1974
Southern	78,000	1970-1975
Atlanta University	102,000	1972 (feasability study)
SREB	92,000	1972-1975 (3 years)

The effort in his office goes back to 1968. His Review Board happened to meet three weeks after King's death, ehich evidently triggered a decision to get some training grants in black colleges. A conference of NIMH officials and representatives of 20 black colleges was held in Washington in

March 1969. "Minority Groups and Careers in Psychology" was the theme. A good conference but of course nothing happened. No proposals flowed in. So Schneider had to go into the field and find some.

Schneider has confidence in the future of psychology studies on the black campuses. He finds them anxious to enlarge their activities. He is concerned to help develop a full spectrum of course offering at more of the schools, so that there can be more departmental majors in psychology, more masters and doctorate programs. So his effort is geared to helping upgrade departments.

One of the largest projects he has recently funded, and perhaps one of the most controversial, is a three-year grant to the Southern Regional Education Board, called "Middle Level Clinical Psychology in Black Colleges". SREB had originally submitted this proposal without any emphasis on the black schools; the Review Committee recommended the use of black colleges, and SREB agreed. Here are extracts from the proposal:

> There is need for a more systematic development of community-oriented psychological practitioners trained at less than the doctoral level, but the competencies of those workers must be thought out more carefully than at present. This man-power system includes licensure boards, agency administrators and merit systems as well as college programs.

It is doubtful that the practitioners at the BA or MA level should be modeled after the present Ph. D. in clinical psychology. As Dr. Charles Thomas pointed out in a recent SREB conference (1970), the present model of the Ph. D. clinical psychologist is almost totally failing to meet the needs of society and especially the needs of the disadvantaged and blacks. In some ways the model actually reinforces racism by "finding" black persons to be performing poorly on a variety of scales and having them assigned to "special" or "remedial" situations, or by finding them "unsuited" for the traditional highly verbal forms of counseling or psychotherapy....

The Project

The project will function with a staff director at SREB and a group of psychologists from those predominantly Negro colleges of the South that either have or are developing BA or MA level training programs in community-oriented clinical psychology and that elect to participate in the effort. (Those colleges that have already been involved and expressed an interest are Morehouse College in Atlanta; Florida A & M University in Tallahassee; Alabama A & M University in Normal; Southern University in Baton Rouge; Fisk University in Nashville; Tennessee State University in Nashville; Fort Valley State College in Georgia; and Hampton Institute in Virginia.) There will also be representatives of two or three nearby white colleges, to develop stronger relationships between the black colleges and white colleges for exchange of students and faculty....

The major project work will be done with the smaller groups of black college psychologists and two or three psychologists from white colleges. The proposed plan of activities is:

> An initial effort to decide upon appropriate roles and functions for various levels of community-oriented clinical psychologists using the developmental approach, rather than factoring the existing Ph.D.'s job....

1. Determine the needs of clients, families and communities in the area of community psychology.

2. Decide what must be done to meet these needs.

3. Identify the constraints on the ways jobs are structured in this field and what alternatives may exist to overcome them (i.e., legal constraints, professional constraints, personnel constraints, etc.).

4. Determine a rationale for grouping this material into appropriate jobs and levels.

There were some serious questions raised about this grant in the Review Committee. Some members of the committee wondered why the SREB was even involved. Was it necessary? Couldn't the money be given directly to the schools? What sort of politics were involved? There are certain aspects to it that one suspects would bother the Minority Center. Like the assurance given that it won't be a "black program": "the middle level psychologist concept must not be wrapped up in a black ribbon. These must be conceptualized and promoted as guidelines for any and all colleges." As with all programs worked out by white folk for black folk, this one will be interesting to follow.

And in the Division as a whole, Dr. Denham's effort to raise the funding level deserves attention and support.

F. The Rural Community Assistance Consortium (RCAC) of OEO

OEO is the champion federal supporter of black colleges, in terms of percent of agency budget:[1]

	Black College Grants	All College Grants	Percent
1969	$6,869,480	$73,886,000	9.3
1970	5,189,000	33,845,000	15.3
1971	6,981,000	36,444,000	19.2

Those are strong figures, indicating that OEO finds black colleges useful agencies. In 1970 the OEO programs most heavily engaged with black colleges were Legal Services, Pilot Programs, and Migrant Education. Out of 21 OEO programs that had university participation, black colleges were in ten, so the support was not clear across the board.

The Division of Community Development at OEO is very interested in rural development. Rural America is in trouble; black rural America even more so. It may be too late to save those various subcultures that we call rural. Major economic interests are not interested, so they won't halt the type of urban investments that defeat the countryside. Some figures

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1. All of the tables and charts of agency grants to black colleges used in this paper are taken from the published FICE reports for 1969 and 1970, or from unofficial figures for 1971 and 1972 obtained from FICE.

from the 1970 Census show that although the South as a region gained population in the 60's, 1.4 million blacks left. In 1950 there were 560,000 black farm operators; today there are less than 100,000. Mr. Calvin L. Beale of the Economic Research Service, USDA, said in an address in 1971:

> "The principal role of Negroes in American agriculture has changed to that of hired farmworkers. More than a half million blacks still do some hired farmwork.... But a majority of these workers no longer live on farms... In 1960, rural non-farm blacks exceeded those on farms for the time... The decline in the Negro farm population has continued to be precipitous since 1960. This population has been reduced more than half in just ten years and today numbers less than one million."

The situation is grim and the cities are grimmer. Thus the effort at OEO.

The Division of Cummunity Development has a wide variety of rural programs (migrants, co-ops, etc.) and is having difficulty delivering technical assistance to them. They hope that nearby black land grant colleges can give it. A number of agencies have programs in rural areas: HUD, HEW, Labor. To get around the old "weak proposal" argument, OEO suggested a consortium arrangement so that all of the schools could be brought into the action.

A current way to strengthen black college applicants is through the consortium grant. In this way an umbrella grantee

can provide technical assistance on the things colleges need for a change or expansion of mission (released time for staff, consultants, new course and materials planning) as well as an overall grantsmanship assistance. Moreover, a consortium protects black public colleges which are under the gun from hostile state and local officials and gives an added advantage to those that do not have their own aggressive presence in Washington (as, for example, Tuskegee has).

OEO awarded the grant to the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges in the spring of 1971. It was a two-year award for $290,000 with a good possibility for a third year at $150,000. The Association will put in around $15,000 per year as well, so that it should have about $160,000 a year.

The consortium has established an office in Atlanta. From there it handles communication with the 15 black land grant schools, assessing their interests and requirements, poking them with federal grant possibilities, providing consultants when useful to help draft proposals. With the Community Development staff in Washington ("advocates for the consortium in the labyrinth of the Federal bureaucracy") it generates interest in the various agencies for funding the black colleges. The consortium also expects to strengthen

communications between the member colleges and the various black college organizations like TACTICS, NAFEOHE, etc.

Mr. Ira Kay, Division of Community Development and one of the sponsors of the program at OEO, outlined these opportunitites at the dedication of the Atlanta office on June 28, 1971:

> "This means resources from all parts of the Federal government, not just from my agency. It means competing for and capturing resources from state and local governments and from the private sector as well. It means taking full advantage of the increase of cash to flow into the pockets of the rural poor if the Family Assistance Plan becomes law and into the treasury of local and state governments under revenue sharing in whatever form it is enacted to enable the rural community to flourish once again.
>
> The consortium must be able to play a major training role in the program for state and local officials of small community and rural areas. For example, HUD has many millions of dollars at its disposal for such a program. The consortium must lead the way in getting the rural community action agency and the USDA rural councils working together. It must reach out and develop youth leadership.... As we encourage sub-state regional planning, the consortium must be able to do the basic research needed by the rural poor and their community.... I see this consortium coordinating and conducting agricultural research and training relevant to the needs of low-income farmers, stockmen, and foresters.... I see it capturing manpower money to train the present jobless or underemployed.... I see it taking the lead in prison reform..."

Mr. Kay might have considered the possibility that one of his programs could not raise the South again all by itself.

That dedicatory hyperbole serves well in proposals, but may only dispirit a young organization. The first year predictably was rocky. The idea for the Excess Property Program with USDA began here; some NIH training monies were obtained. But the Director is leaving in September for law shcool, and the deputy slot has not been filled. Money not used will be reprogrammed into the second year and thus not lost. This hybrid sort of organization is difficult to start; much energy goes into just keeping it alive. The schools are wary of spoiling old relationships by bringing in new friends, rivalries undoubtedly exist. The test of whether it works will be whether increased resources to overcome rural problems are channeled through the consortium.

At any rate, the black land grant colleges are looking towards the "Brazos Bottoms". As Ira Kay says, "the need is great, the hour is late".

G The Economic Development Administration and The Cooperative College Development Program

In recent years, the Economic Development Administration (EDA) of the Department of Commerce has had two or three sizable grants operating at black colleges:

1969: $145,858 to Southern, Atlanta and Howard (to establish economic development center for their areas)

1970 $295,000 to Southern and Howard

1971: $430,000 to Howard (for two small business guides), Southern (for a study of the Negro in Economic Development) and Morgan State (for Minority Economic Development).

But someone, perhaps it was Robert Brown in the White House, figured out that this piecemeal funding to the same schools was inadequate. So at quite a high level in the Commerce Department it was decided that a new vehicle should be created. Late last year a meeting of a "carefully selected group of presidents of black colleges was held to explain the scope and potential magnitude of a nation-wide multi-million dollar community development program that could be conceived, designed and implemented with federal and other assistance".

EDA has been working with folks at the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Cooperative College Development Program (CCDP) to design the operation. This spring EDA awarded the Fund

$40,000 that is to be matched with money from other places like HUD and foundations.

The program will have three phases:

1. Fact Finding Survey to determine black college interests in and commitment to community development; present involvement; staff capability and commitment; historic commitment and past activities; potential resources; community problems; and preference for group, consortia or individual institutional effort. This survey will be supplemented by institutional visits.

2. Preliminary Plan and Design will assemble several groups of experts, both technical and theoretical, to structure a design relative to the survey findings.

3. Packaging and Proposal Interfacing will collate the various proposals that have been generated. Technical assistance and follow-up will also be a part of this stage. Some colleges will require special assistance in preparing and submitting their designs for community and/or economic development.

About 75 colleges have responded favorably (who would not?); few had modern, or innovative programs on-going. Mostly Headstart, Upward Bound and such. The colleges will eventually be winnowed down to maybe 50 committed ones. The final survey analysis and visits have not yet been completed, but already they are into the second stage up at CCDP. They have formed 11 Task Forces around as many

Program Areas. Each Task Force is busy beating the bushes for colleges, proposals and ideas for proposals. Proposal writers are busy now on the campuses. The proposals are not limited to economic development, but cover the whole new "urban thrust".

The Task Forces are in these Program Areas:

1. Prisoner Education and Rehabilitation
2. Experimental and Adaptive Housing
3. Early Childhood Education and Parent Counseling
4. New Educational Delivery Systems
5. New Occupations Related to Environment and Ecology
6. Science and Technology Applied to Community Problems
7. Allied Health Professions and Preventive Medicine (aging, etc.)
8. Business Education and Outreach Programs (OMBE, SBA, etc.)
9. Community Service Development and Leadership Training (developing new types of service-oriented professionals)
10. Manpower Development Utilization Centers -- Projections and Analysis
11. Community Communication Centers (local radio, TV, press)

When proposals are designed in these program areas, they will all be assembled in a huge "Comprehensive, Omnibus Proposal" that will go as a final report to EDA and then be sent around the agencies. The staff of CCDP is trying to get a five-year commitment from each of the colleges and each of the relevant agencies, so that some continuity can be established.

But it seems that the whole thing may have one fatal weakness similar to the one in the AEC engineering college proposal that may never get its $18 million, and to the OEO RCAC program that after one year is still not off the ground. The weakness is that there is no hard commitment from the prospective grantors, in this case the government. Quite simply, the necessary first steps of getting a commitment from the agency, plus an actual, realizable, well-structured approach to each agency, have not been written into the scheme. Some money set aside to study the government agencies involved would have been sophisticated, considering the many ways that each agency has of squashing the efforts of black colleges.

This EDA-CCDP program will help the colleges think and plan ahead; they are doing their homework. It may move them into new energy-giving fields of community involvement. But will it bring many new grants to the colleges, or is it just a stage, a level of awareness?

CHAPTER III

WHERE THE ACTION IS NOT

In the previous chapter we outlined a few case histories of agencies - usually a few individuals within agencies - who understand and are trying to move the minority issues into some kind of prominence and activity. But there are plenty of places around Washington where black colleges are still invisible.

In some cases they are agencies whose only "higher education" money is a (relatively) small allocation of their budget to research. The Department of Transportation, for example, or the Department of Interior. People don't think of them as agencies that support colleges, and yet they have divisions that spend millions on research into problems that affect people's daily lives. There is every reason why black colleges should participate in developments that have to do with mass transport in cities, with water pollution, with recreation opportunities and so on. The fact that people don't think of black colleges in connection with these agencies is just another part of the same problem.

And there are a couple of other places where the black colleges are invisible that are even more unacceptable. The story of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, where the national effort to improve health care

delivery is based, and the old, old story of vocational education are two places that need a lot of attention.

What follows is a detailed look at a few parts of this deep forest, examples of what might follow if one looked even further.

A. Department of Transportation: Corridors and Connurbations

When thinking about the Department of Transportation (DOT) it is useful to remember the comic strip Buck Rogers: there you have him zipping and zapping around this streamlined megapolis, with layers of airbuses, helicopters, and ribbon-like highways slipping in and out of queer looking buildings, with domes and levitators pulsing people about in great serenity. The Department was created to give us all that. If you recall your Buck Rogers well, you will remember no poverty, no opposition, no politics, ever. You have seen the future as the connurbationists at DOT see it; predictably it will never work.

A Department of Transportation might have been useful in the 1950's to limit highway construction, disarm the automobile industry, float the railroads economically, trim the over-investment in air travel. Now, however, the Department of Transportation is put forward as one of the architects of our new urban forms. This is profoundly dangerous to people who will live in these cities, hoping for a decent quality of life with some control over it. Transportation in this country has always been something you make money on. With DOT's heavy investment in R&D, it seems doubtful that the urban concerns of the black communitites, which the black colleges will be facing, are going to be handled in a

manner that will enhance the communication and cohesiveness of these communities. Therefore the black colleges are in a position to lead the critique of the Department that must be made if we are not going to have our cities mass-transported right out of existance.

In October, 1966, Congress passed the Department of Transportation Act. In April, 1967, the Department established three large coordinating administrations and collected transportation-related programs from all over the Federal establishment:

Alaska Railroad from Department of Interior,
Bureau of Railroad Safety from Interstate Commerce Commission,
Office of High Speed Ground Transportation from Department of Commerce,
Bureau of Public Roads from Department of Commerce,
National Traffic Safety Bureau from Department of Commerce,
Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety from Interstate Commerce Commission,
The Federal Aviation Agency, an independent agency,
The St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation from Department of Commerce,
U.S. Coast Guard from Department of Treasury,
Bureau of Aviation Safety, from Civil Aeronautics Board,
The National Highway Safety Administration, from Department of Commerce,
The Urban Mass Transportation Administration from HUD (68)

DOT is one of the new mission-oriented departments like HUD, HEW, and OEO, created to solve problems. It has a grand mission:

a) to assure the coordinated, effective administration of the transportation programs of the

Federal Government,

b) to facilitate the development of a coordinated transportation service, to be provided by private enterprise to the maximum extent feasible (empahsis ours),

c) to encourage cooperation for transportation objectives among governments at all levels, labor,carriers, and others who share in or have a stake in the transportation industry,

d) to stimulate technical advances in the industry,

e) to take leadership within the governments identifying and solving transportation problems, and

f) to develop and recommend to the President and to the Congress suitable transportation policies for the United States.

So it has to do with planning, coordination R&D and policy. The rationale used is that "historically, integrated governmental multi-modal transportation planning has been lacking". One assumes that Lincoln, for example, never heard that jargon, but the decision in 1863 to start the Transcontinental Railroad, his support of the development of steamships and the telegraph laid the groundwork for much the DOT would coordinate. Modern bureaucratic planning is just another ritual that has not yet suggested anything better than what we have known. There are too many issues and complexities involved in moving people and things about for any one management team to deal with. The pace of change has so increased in recent years, the time-lag between invention and manufacture has so shortened, that decisions should be dispersed among many interest so that one awkward

one won't be followed mindlessly by its sons and daughters. It is difficult to see how anything will happen but an increase in mass transportation systems of all kinds, and an increase of problems for an ever-increasing bureaucracy to fiddle with.

> "The designers, however, are only beginning to perceive that their design does not work, that their abstract, surrealistic geometry does not give the rest of us the incentive to make it our own."
>
> "Death of the 'City of the Future'", Wolf Von Eckhardt, Washington Post June 24, 1972

Organization of DOT

DOT describes itself as an "integrated" department as opposed to a "holding company-conglomerate" department. An integrated department is made up of closely linked units, closely presided over by the Secretary. Because this is a new department with up-to-date organization, it should be studied by anyone going to do business with it. It is possible that this organization is less heirachical than others. And it is possible to stir things up at more than one level because there is a good deal of over-lapping of interests in the bottom levels. This is important in the case of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, one of the recent accretions to the department; it has a lot of money and the little money that the black colleges are getting from DOT comes from this administration.

Urban Mass Transportation Administration

The Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA) came over from HUD in 1968. Quoting from a press handout:

> The purpose of the organization is to facilitate development of urban transportation systems that will
>
> 1) foster desired patterns of urban development,
>
> 2) substantially improve the movement of goods and people in cities, and
>
> 3) be compatible with regional and national transportation networks."

At the risk of adding too much censure to an already critical piece, it should be noted that the first two items are more and more dubious as observers begin to question whether urban forms should be determined by new transportation schemes and whether movement itself is necessarily a prime goal. Wilfred Owen, a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution writes in his new book, The Accessible City: "There is growing evidence that rapid transit may be no more successful than express highways in satisfactorily solving traffic congestion." Transportation solutions in the 1970's will be found only if we begin to treat transit as a sub-system of the larger system of overall urban design -- a field now undergoing revolutionary changes.

UMTA operates six different grant programs; most are direct capital assistance grants to cities to provide new transportation systems or technical assistance, or are to private firms for systems research. The one place where colleges can work out in DOT is in the university research and training grant program. This is where the black colleges have to make their case.

The funding in UMTA has gone like this:

Year	Black Colleges	All Colleges	Percent of Total
1969	- 0 -	$13,204,000	0
1970	$455,000	10,148,000	4.5
1971	244,000	9,886,000	2.4
1972	218,300	less money	?

UMTA made twenty grants to universities and colleges in 1970, forty in 1971. (There will be fewer in '72 and '73 because appropriations have been cut.) Three black schools are so far involved, Atlanta University, North Carolina A & T University, and Southern University. Each has a three-year grant from 1970 to 1972 with about $150,000 in the first year, $115,000 in the second year, and considerably less in the third. Each program supports a number of inter-disciplinary courses on the campus (economics of transportation, planning theory, colloquim on mass transportation, etc.) plus under-graduate and research assistant stipends. Each also includes support for research projects related to the city in which each is located, on subjects which could generate public

policy leadership from the college ("investigation of how group interests are reflected in urban transportation planning","examination of relationships of transportation to income growth", "transportation system models","transportation service and cost for the disadvantaged as related to the location of employment opportunities" and so on).

UMTA's University Research and Training grant program is probably the most socially conscious of DOT's activities. All sorts of behavioral, sociological, legal and political research is encouraged. But no grants were given to black colleges in the first year. There were't many blacks in the top administration of DOT at that time and apparently no one thought to include the black colleges in the first round of grants.

By 1970 things were different. Some black executives were aboard. In June of that year, Secretary Volpe made the commencement address at Southern University. In the late sixties, there was a student-police riot at Southern over the issue of transportation and a dangerous railroad crossing in the depressed area adjoining the campus, Scotlandville. It seems possible that the $148,000 grant to Southern, the first to a black school, was related to that riot. Atlanta and A&T were added shortly thereafter. But those schools represent about all black colleges will get from UMTA,

unless there is a turnaround. Recently, when UMTA held a conference on Minority Problems of Transportation, it was held at American University in Washington, D.C.

To point up the problem of expanding the participation of black colleges, it is useful to consider the case of Benedict College. A black DOT administrator was scouting around in 1970 for programs to start. He knew that Secretary Volpe wanted more black schools on the roster, and said things like, "Find the schools; if their proposal writers haven't learned our ways yet, fix up the proposals and fund them." So he brought a professor from the school up to Washington to sit down with the managers of the University Research Program to talk about a proposal. He felt that Benedict had the personnel, students and resources (a new computer) to do a good job. A satisfactory connection was made in Washington, a proposal was written and it went to Volpe's office where it was favorably received and hand-carried down to the grants office. Somehow the proposal died, but without constructive feedback. The evaluation procedure is a typical government operation; four UMTA people, five from DOT and three from industry (Railroad and Transit). They rate on geographical location, evaluations of the college (A.C.E.) and prior performance.

Benedict had proposed a thorough two-year program costing $401,000. It was going to survey and study just about every aspect of the town's transportation. It was going to develop courses and train 50 students. The staff director was highly qualified, with an advanced degree from a leading university and experience in related fields. Money was apparently available. But somehow the chance to fund a school that had hardly ever received R&D grants was missed.

Meanwhile, the University of South Carolina in the same city was funded by DOT for a transportation study, and finds it helpful to come to Benedict for assistance (at a consulting cost) on transportation issues relating to the black community. Clearly nobody at DOT can see how a small black college could be useful to the world of high research. The big get bigger and the small go under.

Before more black colleges can move into real participation in DOT programs they have to secure some maneuvering room. DOT lacks any rationale that would allow anything but the big university involvement.

It is necessary to analyze critically some of the underlying premises of the Department and challenge them. As Congress in 1970 authorized $10 billion to urban transportation over the next 12 years, many decisions and changes affecting black urban dwellers are going to be made. Black

colleges may be able to protect them from the experts in transportation, if they can successfully challenge some of DOT's underlying premises:

a) The Corridor Syndrome

Everyone at DOT believes in regional, long-range and urban corridor planning. These are the big words, but there is no evidence that they will produce more liveable cities.

The urban corridor syndrome is of recent manufacture. One of its inventors is Herman Kahn, well-known futurist and thinktank founder. In an article with Anthony Weiner[1] he maintained that "the United States of the year 2,000 will see at least three gargantuan metropolises, Boswash, Chipitts, and Sansan,which should contain more than half the U.S. population, including an overwhelming proportion of the most technologically and scientifically advanced, the most prosperous and creative elements of society." This is the post- industrial society that we have heard about.

> "Futurists are like the scouts sent out by warring factions of a tribal migration to bring back evidence that the scheduled line of march is or is not the best one. Unless they are more honest than people usually are,

1. "The Next Thirty Years: A Framework for Speculation, Daedalus 96:705-732

> they will bring back only what they expect to find....knowing the future means being condemned to live it as it has been revealed."
>
> -- Dennis Hale, Change Magazine, July-August 1972.

DOT assumes that most Americans will live in huge urban areas, with about 60 million people in both the Atlantic Seaboard and Great Lakes Region and perhaps another 40 million people in California. Its task is to move those people about. But that sort of future vision is widely challenged. For example:

> "We are on the verge of yet another fundamental transformation of American society, one destined, I anticipate, to invert the spatial patterns of 1960 by the year 2000....I forsee the legal central cities assuming a new reality as the bases within which the nation's poor minorities can gain and exert political power and influence....Persons of greater wealth and leisure will find homes and work among the more remote environments of hills, water and forest, while most will aspire to this as an ideal. This, of course, is another inversion; the environments historically least valued are rapidly becoming those most desired. ...What of corporation headquarters, of daily tides of commuters, of expressways and mass transit systems, if communication is substituted for movement? What if the geography of face-to-face contacts, of physical movements, of skyscrapers is replaced by a thin film of electrons spread over the counrysides? Where then, did Boswash, Chipitts and Sansan go?"[1]

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1. Brian Berry, Ekistics Magazine, May 1970

When we asked a black DOT official why most of the research into "desired patterns of urban development" is being done at white colleges, he replied that color was not important here. "The critical test of a proposal is how it fits into the urban corridor plans. We don't believe in 'Balkanizing' the cities. If a transportation proposal comes over from OEO or Model Cities that is purely local in character, it gets nowhere here."

b) All Systems and No Politics

In the world of DOT there is little politics or poverty. They exist, but are not starting points. Two quotes point up the thinking:

> "It isn't just a case of upgrading one line--which is a streetcar," said the UMTA spokesman. "It's a case of developing a completely automated technology. From 80 to 100 percent of all fares taken in by the majority of transit bodies go for labor. If you can eliminate the high labor cost from transit, you have some opportunity to fund the operating costs of a transit system."
>
> --Government Executive, June 1971.

And in contrast

> "New York's double-decker buses were all retired in 1947 solely to eliminate the conductor's salary, the management feeling that the driver alone could handle the fares, driving and comportment of passengers, a theory which does not square with the realities of Gotham life. Other nations keep down their welfare rolls by maintaining employments such as that of conductors."
>
> --Daniel List, in the Village Voice, July 6, 1972

DOT assumes that national systems planning is necessary to work through the problems that confront us all. But many of us, including black colleges, may wish to look at some alternative approaches; here are just a couple of examples:

> "Cessation of the disturbances at the end of the year left the light bus system with an extended network of routes and a number of newly converted vehicles, but it was still on the wrong side of the law. The reasonable thing to do was to license light buses as public carriers, regulating them in such a way that the controls were consistent with other transport services.
>
> Simple administrative procedures sufficed. Exploratory surveys of the working of the system were conducted on a confidential basis. Police made recommendations that would minimize accidents and unnecessary congestion....Altogether 3,500 official "public light buses" were cleared in September, 1969. Neither fare schedule nor routes were regulated. Then everyone waited to see what would happen. Government in Hong Kong has a very pragmatic, laissez faire style until some kind of an intolerable situation develops that requires intervention of authority."
>
> -- Richard Meier, "Evolution of Minibus Systems", Ekistics, October 1970.

Jane Jacobs, the great defender of cities, describes a local transportation set-up in New York in the book, The Economy of Cities, 1969:

> "Although he got no encouragement form the city, and some interference, the hospital managed not only to survive, but to flourish. Its success gave rise to a problem. Public transportation in the neighborhood was so poor that the hospital's

> workers and many of its patients were inconvenienced going back and forth. To solve this problem, Dr. Mathew organized a 'free' bus service. Under his plan, riders who could afford to pay bought, with each ride, a twenty-five cent bus company bond. Those who could not, paid nothing....Dr. Mathew's bus service flourished so much so that they organized a second bus line in Harlem where people have long complained about the public surface transportation and have engaged in numerous but futile little campaigns to persuade the city to improve it....Pause to consider where this kind of innovation might lead. Suppose scores--or better hundreds--of small new transportation services were started in the city to meet this or that difficulty. Transportation in New York might actually begin to improve -- even to develop.
>
> But early in 1968, as soon as Dr. Mathew's second bus line had started, the city government went to court and obtained an injunction against both lines, which were forced to close. That was the end of that. People who are prevented from solving their own problems cannot solve problems for their cities either."

Systems in the DOT manner, without regard for people or employment or environment, are destruction rather than development.

c) Trusting in Technology

In a "Statement on National Transportation Policy", the department states that "...planners can approach the solution of transportation's problems in essentially two ways--non-capital-intensive policy changes or major capital investments in plant, equipment or technology--each of which involves very different policy implications." The department

says it expects to acheive a blend of the two. This can be doubted, because there is no evidence that DOT has ever questioned the primacy of technology in solving problems. There is an amazing example of the double-think that technologists get into further in the Policy statement:

> "...in urban areas new investments in conventional technology have often had profound and unhappy impacts on the quality of life. Solutions which depend on the use of conventional technologies should be approached cautiously since transportation's gaps and weaknesses persists today in spite of past large-scale investments in them. Thus, in terms of real problem solving, an emphasis on the introduction of <u>new</u> technology looks increasingly promising."

That boggles the mind. What is the distinction between conventional and new technology? Five or ten years? The department has no sense of irony that the "new" technology may be no different than than the "conventional". They think that a few public hearings and a few "environmental safeguards" will shield us and them from later criticism. DOT has yet to encourage the "noncapital-intensive policy changes" it mentions. It is still that Buck Rogers stuff.

Black colleges could help turn some of that around. They are going to have to ask hard political questions of the Department. There is no office right now that is organized to deal

with the black colleges. Secretary Volpe is going to have to be told that three programs at black colleges are not enough. The questions being asked at the white universities are not the ones that face the black citizens of this country, who increasingly should be central in decisions about urban development and its subsidiary concern, transportation. They will not be saved by new ports, tubes, rails, and people movers.

B. Department of the Interior:
Black Colleges and Running Water

The Department of Interior feels responsible for just about averything outdoors:

> "As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities for water, fish, wildlife, mineral, land, park and recreation resources, Indian and Territorial affairs and other major concerns of the Department."

People there get excited about rocks and trees; they have not gone looking for black people and other such concerns. More than in other agencies, they steer you towards "good programs in HEW and the Office of Education" when asked about grant awards to black colleges. "Our mission is resource management. Seeking out black colleges would be dissipative of funds, of resources. Here we're very programmatic. Hard science research. Those other things aren't compatible with what we do. In any case,shouldn't those colleges be integrated into the white schools or be closed down?" That, from an official at Interior, is where we have to start.

Most agencies have some program, some policy, something on paper for the inquirer about black colleges. Not Interior. It seems untouched by any sense that black colleges represent issues of equity, much less relevance or usefulness.

Only one office, the Office of Water Resources Research, has any involvement at all:

Year	Grants to Black Colleges	Grants to All Colleges	Percent Black
1969	$ 10,000	$32,053,000	.03
1970	107,800	32,585,900	.3
1971	20,000	25,963,000	.1
1972	122,000	- ? -	- ? -

As noted in the Environmental Protection Agency report, the 1970 figures are at that level because of two Water Pollution research grants at Howard and Tuskegee, since transferred to EPA. When 1971 came around, there was only one Interior program at a black college, a grant of $20,000 from Water Resources Research to Tuskegee. For 1972, there can be seen a jump to above the 1970 figures. As the official in Water Resources Research said, "We tried hard to find and fund black colleges."

Water Resources has the largest research budget in Interior, now that Water Pollution is gone from Interior (if not from the country). The Water Resources Act of 1964 has two parts, Titles I and II. The first title gives an annual allotment of $100,000 to each state to support a State Water Resources Research Institute, located at the major land-grant college in a state. The institute carries on its own research and sometimes gives a sub-grant to a "participating colleges". Tuskegee is the only black

college that serves as a participating college. There should be more. Inside the Office of Water Resources Research there is great interest in establishing Federal City College as an Institute, thus making it eligible for the $100,000 annual grant. Nixon's Interior budget, however, does not have any money for it.

Title II of the Act is called Additional Water Resources Research. This was worth $3,500,000,in 1971 and $4,300,000 FY 1972. Much of this goes to colleges and universities for research having anything to do with water.

Grants for FY 1972 included:

Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama -- Solid Wastes, Animal Refuse, Organic Residues Disposal and the Quality of Groundwater - (This research is designed to aid in the prediction of movement of pollutants in subsurface regions and to suggest remedial procedures for reducing undesirable contamination of groundwater.) - $99,882.

Howard University, Washington, D.C. -- Physico-Mathematical Models for Surface Runoff in Small Urban Watersheds - (This research will deal with the effects of changes in watershed physical characteristics resulting from urbanization on the runoff of rainfall. The results will be useful in suggesting patterns of urban development to minimize flood damage.) - $22,000.

Together they total about $122,000. They competed with about 379 other proposals, of which 65 were funded. This office at least has made some effort, and the people we

talked to seemed to appreciate the quality of the research done. They agreed that more black colleges could be brought into the universe of "participating colleges" in the Title I Institute program. They agreed that a letter could be sent to each state director, giving encouragement and/or guidelines to this effect. For Title II they sent a mailing to the black colleges. But only the old Interior favorites, Howard and Tuskegee, were funded. The Office of Water Resources Research should push itself to identify more colleges that have potential for this type of research. The black land grant colleges should lean on the Department for a special program of water research.

Other offices at Interior that have sizable research monies are Saline Water, Geological Surveys, and Sport Fisheries. There is one other bureau at Interior, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, that could open up to the black colleges, and get some help on one of its most pressing problems. At the same time the schools could move out into local communities and provide some real service. The area of concern is urban outdoor recreation.

The Washington Post recently carried an article about the Department and a $6 million study of America's recreation

needs begun in 1963 and finished in 1969, but scrapped and hidden by Secretary Morton. A lawsuit tried to get it released, but failed.

> "...the report called for a five-year $6.3 billion program to provide recreation areas, facilities and services near America's cities where three-fourths of the population lives but where one-fourth of the present recreation areas are located....The fiscal overseers deemed the urban recreation proposal excessive, particularly the report's suggestion that it might take more than $25 billion in additional funds to give urban dwellers the same amount of nearby recreation opportunity by 1975 that was available on the average nationwide in 1965."
>
> --Washington Post, July 17, 1972.

Because there is a Congressional requirement for an outdoor recreation plan every five years, the department is now putting together a new one. For citizen input the department held a series of public forums (10) across the country in June and July, which apparantly re-emphasized that the Department was not meeting the needs of city dwellers. Each forum produced an earfull, particularly from inner-city representatives, who stated that there aren't enough facilities, parks, etc., that the ones that exist aren't adequate, and that the management of them doesn't relate to city residents. People said that there was a need for new professionals to come into the recreation fields; the "fun and games" variety can't do the job. Manpower training.

Apparently the case was made so strongly for an urban recreation effort from Interior that something will happen, although surely not at the level suggested in the earlier study. There are a number of ways black colleges could participate in Outdoor Recreation programs. First, there are the individual "State Recreation Plans" that are submitted each year to the Department upon which allocations are made to support each state. These plans aren't easily available, but it could be assumed that the needs of Southern blacks are not heavily represented. With some departmental resources black colleges could do survey work to feed into the state plans.

One program that the department is working on now is to give over to cities unneeded Interior lands that are either in or adjacent to the cities. This land will have to be programmed or designed for recreational purposes. This is happening now in Washington, D.C. and Federal City College is being involved in the planning. If the black community were to be involved economically, classes in business management of concessions, park development, etc. would be possible grant subject fields.

An obvious sort of program would be "Urban Recreation Institutes" that could train reserachers and teachers in new

recreation-leisure areas. The whole recreation field is going through a change of life; the old field-house mentality is out-of-date. But few schools, white or black, are designing new recreation curricula. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation has a modest research budget of $83,000 a year. Three years ago it funded the Urban Affairs Department of Morgan State College, to do a $90,000 study of the Baltimore black community's recreational needs. They found that in a city that was 50 percent black, more than half the recreation funds were going to maintain golf courses and tennis courts. The needs of the privileged were being met, but not those of most of the black community. Morgan State believes they came up with a sophisticated model for other such studies. It will be put out by the National Academy of Science soon. Copies should go to black colleges.

It seems clear that before black colleges and universities will be able to participate in the full spectrum of Interior's programs the case for their relevence to the new urban issues, as well as traditional resource issues, will have to be made. They need a policy statement from the Secretary, and after that the conferences for black educators, the newsletters, the visits to black campuses to generate proposals, the in-house bolstering of proposals that aren't done quite right, the earmarked development money, the full-time liaison office, and so on.

Only in this way does a department get turned around on the issue of black colleges. Some one should test Interior on the Question.

Two pressure points at Interior might be the Program Policy Office. One of the officials there has been designated the FICE representative but has not yet attended a meeting. Another office might be the Equal Opportunity office; the person in charge declined to meet with us.

C. The Environmental Education Act of 1970

> "Waste Control: where feasible, it is suggested that recycled paper be used in the production and duplication of proposals and that both sides of the page be used, with margins adjusted properly."

The "Crisis in our Environment" has produced a puny federal program under the Environmental Education Act of 1970 to do battle in what the President has called "a national commitment to environmental enhancement and improvement". "Environmental education involves every person and form of life upon this planet", said U.S Commissioner of Education, S. P. Marland, Jr. But with $1.7 million in FY 1971 and $3.5 million in FY 1972, not many people are going to be involved.

The Act is a complex thing with three types of grants available (small grants for workshops and institutes, statewide information discussion grants, and demonstration projects) and about two dozen project models.

Most of the parts of the Act require matching funds: 20 percent for the first year, 40 percent for the second and 60 percent for the third. This is designed to force

the programs off the federal dole, and suggests that many projects will last only a year.

Black colleges have had a little involvement with the Act. Twelve of them sent in proposals in 1971; in competition with 3,000 other proposals, one of those twelve made it: Lemoyne-Owen. It is a curriculum development project, developing a joint "Man and His Environment" course with a neighboring university in Memphis to engage students in projects such as rat control in a nearby housing project. Because it is a new curriculum project, it is exempt from the matching funds requirement.

Because the Act itself is so under-funded, they try to redirect funds from other OE programs to environmental concerns. Perhaps the only black college example is an EPDA faculty development consortium of Miami-Dade Junior College, Wayne State and Tuskegee, which spends $60,000 to train multi-disciplinary teachers in "environmental problem solving".

Addendum:

Wondering about proposals written on recycled paper we phoned the director of the ecology program at LeMoyn-Owen to talk about her experience with the Environmental

Education Act. She had indeed found and used recycled paper for her original proposal but found that the paper wouldn't meet the guidelines' criteria for clarity and legibility. So she cranked up the Xerox machine and was able to get a presentable proposal with Xerox copies of the original.

She said that the program was doing well. She had been thinking she got the grant for the college because she was from a black institution. We said from our contact with the Washington office that that would not be meaningful to them, since they were not even aware that Lemoyne-Owen is black.

There are nineteen students in the class built around the grant; it seems to be having quite a bit of impact around town. They are moving their emphasis into the schools, trying to get young black students interested in environmental problems. They are psuhing a rat information project in a housing project across the street from the college. There are two paid student staffers. One of them is a go-getting young man who got turned on when Ralph Nader spoke in Memphis last year. He was able to create a lot of interest on the campus about consumer issues and ecology and it was with this start that the biology professor was able to get campus support for her program. The students

helped design the class and to create the proposal. She said that she was most interested in innovative education and that this was probably the most important aspect of her program.

Washington came down to evaluate the program recently. She wasn't there, but apparently they were impressed and excited by it. In her new proposal for this year she doubled the request because she wants to send some students to an international conference on the environment in Sweden. She expects the competition to be stiff from the Memphis area, because more schools are sending in proposals this year.

Her latest idea is to start an Environmental House where she and the students would live and study ecology. She thinks that the only solution to our environmental crisis is an altered life style that doesn't demand so much from the Earth. We wished her and all of us good luck.

D. Vocational Education

Vocational education in America is primarily the job of the school systems and specialized training schools, but colleges and universities do have a role to play under the Vocational Education legislation of 1963, amended in 1968. Since most vocational education funds go through states, whose reports rarely identify college participation, there are only a few programs directly funded from Washington which can be examined for their use of black college capacities. The result is pretty bleak.

Research and Training

Half of these funds, totalling up to $18 million a year, are spent from Washington on projects designed to analyze and improve vocational education. The only black colleges that have received funds under this program since 1965 are Howard, Virginia State, Tuskegee, and Atlanta University, doubtless because of the tendency to locate research in graduate institutions. In the years from 1970 to 1972 there have apparently been no black colleges funded at all, although some have applied.

The other half of these funds, disbursed by the federal

government through, the States, provides for 75 percent of the costs of maintaining State Research Coordinating Units and for 90 percent of costs of grants to colleges and universities for research. Again, the states do not report on the institutions to which they turn for research, but federal information bulletins which lists all such research projects reveal no black college names.

Exemplary Programs and Projects

This section of the Act, only four years old, is meant to bridge the gap between research and implementation, and is again divided between state grants and direct federal grants. By statute, colleges and universities have only a small part to play. Only half a dozen universities receive grants in a year, and black colleges apparently have never participated.

Curriculum Development

The 1968 amendments provide for new attention to curriculum development, for which direct federal payments to projects of about $4 million annually are now made. Colleges and universities are entirely eligible in this section, but again no black colleges seem to have been funded.

Teacher Training

Vocational education teachers are a major concern of federal legislation; $7 million from the Vocational Education Act is available for this purpose as well as funds from the 1968 EDPA legislation. Like most teacher training funds, they are divided into support for leadership training (doctoral programs at universities) and in-service training, (usually short-term institutes). Of the 18 institutions currently training 264 doctoral candidates, black universities are predictably absent as they do not offer advanced degree programs in these fields. Of the 43 in-service programs funded in 1970-71 with specifically Vocational Education Act funds, black colleges received seven grants.

Conclusions:

Those vocational teacher training institutes are managed in the division of the Office of Education which manages all teacher training, a division which has taken affirmative action over several years to involve black colleges in their work. The other federally funded vocational education programs, however, are located in a different division of the Office of Education, one which relates very closely to state officials, to state management of research and

development, and state controlled basic programs. Their record in respect to black colleges is abysmal.

Without suggesting that minority students have an exclusive need for vocational education, it is still a fact that a good many black young people are going to want and need some kind of vocational training. What they are getting now is obsolete, based on demeaning assumptions, and badly taught. They are run through a huge system which all the evidence shows to be dysfunctional -- or alternatively they are denied access to that bad system

E. Health Services & Mental Health Administration (HSMHA)

There is an unofficial release circulating which summarizes the 1971 FICE Report findings (the Report itself is as usual overdue). It carries this intriguing note: "Health Services and Mental Health Administration doubled its funds to black colleges from 1970 to 1971 providing more than $11 million to the black colleges". Was this going to be an agency turnaround, bigger and better than SRS? We drove out to far Rockville, hope in our hearts that one agency had at last found The Way.

HSMHA operates in one of the most awful Federal Buildings in the D.C. area. The building was built and leased to the government by five hustling doctors. It is arranged like the letter "E", but functions in a rather Cyrillic fashion and only vaguely makes sense. If the performance of Health Services in this country is dependent in any way upon that building, we had better stay out of drafts.

After many hours we had not discovered any policy anywhere that could lead to a doubling of funds to black colleges. Something was obviously not quite right, but before we figured out the answer we had first to figure out HSMHA.

"Its primary objectives are to make quality health care available to all the people in the United States; and to diminsh the need for such care by preventing ill health and promoting the maintenance of good health....The aim of HSMHA is to strengthen each component involved in the delivery of care. The agency is involved in partnerships with every element of the delivery system--physicians, hospitals, other community institutions and agencies. State and regional authorities, and voluntary groups. HSMHA's closely related programs are also partners with the recipients of health care who have an important role to play in assuring that they are well served." That from the 1970 Annual Report and a brochure.

HSMHA was pulled together as an agency in 1968. As of this writing it has 14 divisions:

	To black schools FY'71	All schools
National Center for Health Services Research and Development	$ 940,000	$ 24,380,000
Community Health Service	6,862,000	13,140,000
National Health Service Corps	-0-	-0-
National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health	-0-	4,032,000
National Center for Health Statistics	-0-	-0-
National Center for Family Planning Services	-0-	-0-
Indian Health Service	-0-	-0-
Regional Medical Programs Service	1,183,000	52,991,000
Federal Health Programs Service	-0-	-0-

MINH	1,439,000	129,659,000
Center for Disease Control	6,000	2,097,000
Health Care Facilities Service	-0-	-0-
Bureau of Community Environmental Management	-0-	-0-
Maternal & Child Health Service	1,316,000	37,804,000
	$11,746,000	$264,203,000

That $11,746,000, which we originally found so exciting, is out of a total 1971 obligation to colleges of $264,203,000 or 4.4 percent of the total. (The total 1970 budget of HSMHA was $1,410,717,000). Even with 4.4 percent, HSMHA has not had an exemplary record regarding black colleges, particularly in light of its objectives.

Year	Black Colleges	All Colleges	Percent
1969	$ 3,821,578	$275,000,000	1.4
1970	5,576,000	243,104,000	2.3
1971	11,746,000	264,203,000	4.4

National Institute of Mental Health

Half of the total college money in HSMHA is at NIMH, an almost totally independent agency. We described two of their (relatively) promising programs in the second chapter -- the Minority Group Center and Dr. Denham's efforts in training. Elsewhere in NIMH, especially in the matter of reserach, the picture is far dimmer.

NIMH is the Department of Interior for the mind. Among the problems and issues of interest to NIMH are school mental health, aging, community mental health, crime and juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, memory, schizophrenia, behavior problems, suicide, public education, metropolitan problems, narcotic and drug abuse, personality disorders, mass violence, children's mental health, poverty and mental health, family and marital problems and mental hospital improvement. Among the disciplines employed against these problems are psychiatry, psychology, biochemistry, neurophsiology, neuro-biology, and psycho-pharmacology. It looks into and after that catalog of ills with all of the magnificance that American institutes, universities and hospitals are acclaimed for. They know what ails us; they are just beginning to find out what ails them. Listen:

> "There was agreement that much of the research related to black mental health has been conducted by whites and/or dominated by the values and models of white social science. The more objectionable elements of this model include the following: (1) that white middle class behavior constitutes the norms against which Black behavior is evaluated; (2) the failure to take account of the interrelated forces that create and maintain racism and hence influence Black mental health; and the corollary, that the problems of Blacks are to be found within themselves and their life experiences; and (3) the interminable victim analysis, the comparisons of Blacks and whites, and the deficiency-deprivation explanations explanations of Black behavior."
>
> -- A Report on the Conference on Program Planning Sponsored by The Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs, NIMH December, 1971

NIMH has an annual budget that approached $400,000,000. To give an idea of the degree that the Institute has ignored minority Americans this quote:

> "During the period 1967-1971 NIMH awarded approximately $5 million for 92 projects for research relevant to the problems of minority groups. The following research projects are illustrative of recent institute supported efforts towards the development of knowledge in the area of minority groups' problems.
>
> 1. University of California (Berkeley) -- Black Culture
> 2. Harvard
> 3. UCLA -- Japanese-American study
> 4. University of Pittsburg -- self esteem of students, black
> 5. Psychological Service Center, New York
> 6. Western Washington State College
> 7. Washington University, St. Louis -- Black I.Q. Test
> 8. Southern Illinois University -- Racial Attitudes
> 9. Wayne State University -- Recruitment of Black Students
> 10. Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinte, Arizonia
> 11. University of Utah -- clinical psychology training grant."

Black schools have not been used in the little bit of research that has been awarded, as can be seen above. So what are we to make of an institution that has great responsibility for the mental health of the country and has consistently dealt with our most schizoid issue, race, in a racist fashion? Back to our FICE figures:

Year	Grants to Black Schools	Grants to All Schools	Percent, Black
1969	$ 237,350	?	?
1970	1,265,000	$134,487,000	.9
1971	1,436,000	129,659,000	1.1

The increase shown from 1969 to 1970 was the result of two grants to Tuskegee totalling $353,000 and two to Howard for $682,000. Meharry has received some grants all along. The dollar increase was easily done and comfortable.

From within the ranks of the black staff at NIMH and from black professionals concerned with mental health issues is coming increased pressure to change NIMH, notably in the Minority Center the Division of Manpower and Training. At the Program level there is nothing that we could find. One NIMH Research Fellowship for $5,900 went to Howard and a research project for $5,831 at Federal City and one at Howard for $13,711. That is it for 1971, and we still hadn't found the source of the "doubling" of HSMHA funds.

Community Health Service

Tracing money around HSMHA is complicated, and the office that collects FICE data doesn't offer much help in sorting it all out. But after considerable investigation it developed that another location of black college grants was clustered in the Community Health Service.

There, under the Program Title "Health Services Development - 314 (e)" was the big money that we were looking for. $6,777,415 to Meharry Medical College in two awards:

> "Above grants are designed to provide health services in Nashville, Tennessee. Meharry Medical College is the agency carrying out this responsibility. The grants are not institutional assistance in the usual sense of the word."

A finance officer in that program suggested that the grant was a little difficult to explain. Basically it is an OEO grant that goes back to 1967. OEO is getting out of the health center business, and CHS is taking them over a few at a time. That grant in FY 1971 covers 18 months of operation, but the money came from OEO's budget.

> "Coordinated with the Model City project of Nashville-Davison County, this program provides a broad range of curative and preventive health services to the residents of the area. The program is reconstructing and reorienting the hospital outpatient department to alleviate the current fragmentation of services to provide personal and community services, treatment for acute and chronic illnesses, screening and diagnostic services, dental care, specialty services, mental health supervision and family planning. Clinic services are handled on an appointment basis, with a 24-hour-a-day emergency service."

It is very difficult to follow the description, money flows in and out of fiscal years and various budgets, but it is clear that no policy change has come about that has doubled the agency's support to black colleges. HSMHA had only picked up a program funded by OEO. the FICE figure

of $11 million turned out not to be The Way.

There is another program called "Training, Studies and Demonstration in Comprehensive Health Planning" (314(c). It is also part of the Community Health Service. We were told that they had a new program for black colleges with some sizable money involved. They had given Meharry Medical College $85,081 in FY 1971, which was 2.6 percent of the $3,250,000 that had gone to all colleges.

314(c) authorizes grants to institutions to cover the cost of projects that relate to the field of C prehensive Health Planning. Mostly these projects are to support Masters and Doctoral students, who get stipends plus tuition, The courses that are developed are very inter-disciplinary: political science, economics, statistics, health administration and of course, health planning. Here is an example of a typical program:

University of Michigan

Length of Course: Master's Degree -- two academic years

Description of Course: This interdepartmental program provides for an intra-university advisory council as liaison between the program and University faculty. The curriculum is tailored to give students a strong base in relevant social sciences, analytical tools and health planning, and the capacity to formulate and pursue meaningful research in the policy and analytical aspects of health planning. Field work is required of all students, either for an entire semester or for half a semester when they are assigned to comprehensive health planning

> agencies, community action agencies, and governmental units concerned with health and social planning. A subspecialization in international health is also offered.

More blacks are wanted in this field, but they have a difficult time finding admission to these programs. Black schools are not orienting their students to the field, and many applicants don't have the necessary backgound.

Therefore 314(c) and the Community Health Service have funded a consortium of three black schools, Meharry being the grant agent, with Fisk and Tennessee State. Although the first year is only funded for $85,000 it is anticipated that the project will run five years for an estimated $528,000. The money will support a program of course development at Fisk and Tennessee State and enable their students to take courses at Meharry.

The purpose of the program is to prepare the students from these schools to enter a Master's program in CHP such as the one at Michigan described above, at the second year level, thus speeding up the process of getting the black professionals needed in Community Comprehensive Health planning. The project identifies the students, develops courses, develops faculty, and possibly provides student

support. Michigan has already expressed a willingness to accept graduates of this program. More schools are interested and are expected to follow suit.

Few black schools have contacted this program. The funds apparently get less each year, but the Consortium described seems to be well thought out.

Policy at HSMHA

Most of the money that goes to black schools from HSMHA goes to Meharry, and then to Howard. Meharry got over $2,000,000 not including the $6.8 million that went for operation of the two medical centers in Nashville. Tuskegee got a $400,000 Maternity and Infant Care Project that serves poor mothers in the Tuskegee area.

In the Regional Medical Programs division Howard got a $145,000 grant and Meharry a $485,000 one. Drew Postgraduate Medical School (California) is listed on the black college summary as receiving a $500,000 grant although it is not a black college even on the FICE list. All $940,000 in Health Services R&D went to Meharry. Counting up the eleven programs at HSMHA that have no black colleges involved, we find $17,999,000 of grants or contracts that went to dozens of colleges, none black. Too many places where the black schools are not.

Dr. Robert Graham is an assistant to the Administrator of HSMHA. He is director of the Office of Agency Goals. He is young, a "medical activist", and seems to function as a one-man agency think-tank.

Graham was not in the least surprised at our revelation that HSMHA was more or less ignoring the black schools. He pointed out that most of HSMHA funds went to medical or graduate schools, and the Meharry, Howard and Tuskegee were the only black medical schools. We pointed out that it is very difficult to get young black people into the health/medical field because of their lack of resources. We also suggested that black schools have a special relevance to the population that many of his agency's programs are aimed at. We pointed out that we had not found any special awareness of black colleges anywhere in the building outside of NIMH, which is doing its own thing in limited ways.

Dr. Graham admits to much of this, and says he agrees. But because of the conglomerate nature of HSMHA, it is difficult for any across-the-board policy to have much effect on the myriad Titles and services. Top level decisions would have to be made, and he doesn't think such an about-face could happen realistically within the agency. He

thought an effort should be made at the Secretary's level (Richardson).

As we were going towards the door Graham said, "Send me something on paper."

CHAPTER IV

Some Provocative Stories

So far we have looked at a group of agencies and programs that seem to have some affirmative action going -- some patterns worth duplicating. And we have looked at some agencies and programs that have never demonstrated real concern for black colleges and minority issues at the policy level.

But there are some stories in other agencies that do not fall into either category. They raise more complicated issues, usually more political. Sometimes they reflect significant failure on the part of black colleges to seize the initiative or to profit from new opportunities. Sometimes they reflect the cynical view that every grant has its price. But all are cases of very promising programs - programs that ought to be important to minority groups and institutions. They are fluid and full of change, often subject to sudden expansion or contraction because of current legislation.

The items that follow are very incomplete and suggestive, but we have the feeling that pursuit of these programs could bring some important results.

A. Title I - Higher Education Act
Community Service Program

This program was designed to be the counterpart of rural land grant colleges services for urban communities, harnessing academic institutions to assist in the solution of housing, poverty, governmental, health, recreation, employment, youth opportunities, transportation and land use problems.

Its original funding authorization of $50 million a year was itself perhaps intended as a pilot level, in comparison to the sums the national government has committed to the solution of agricultural and scientific problems. Even so, Congress has never appropriated more than $10 million, and the funds have never become a significant source of urban development or even controversy; at the moment there is some fear the program will die out altogether.

Like the land grant college extension work, the funds are managed almost entirely at the state level; state plans are formulated by an agency appointed by the Governor. State agencies like large "successful" projects so the bulk of the funds have found their way into established public universities, who are presumed to have the capacity for such service programs. Today, 77 percent of the funds got to public institution, and 70 percent of the projects are directed to urban areas.

Only one-fifth of the black colleges fall into the "urban public" category, and some of them (notably Southern University, Jackson State, Virginia State College, North Carolina College and Florida A & M) have had sizeable grants. About a third of the black colleges have received at least one grant in the six-year life of the program, and the group as a whole has averaged 2.9 percent of the total funds in each year. This figure seems very low considering the potential service of black colleges to the urban problems which surround them and are a part of the lives of students they serve.

The most important observation about Title I is that the funds are not sufficient to develop any new institutional capacity, either black or white, to ameliorate deep-rooted social problems. In the year of largest grants to black colleges, 1968, the total was some $300,000 to 30 projects in 24 institutions. A $10,000 project grant, on a one-year basis with no guarantee of renewal, does not inspire genuine involvement. In addition, the requirement of one-third matching funds for every federal dollar puts the usual impossible burden on private schools.

The black colleges have additional problems in this program which are unique to their situation. There are a few

of them that qualify in what is perceived to be the most eligible group - large public universities which can support an institutional coordinator and provide continuity of management and staff. They have not had general experience in broad community action programs because of the discrimination and constraints of a century. They can less easily afford the diversion of project staff from the primary teaching functions of an undergraduate college.

There are also significant role and image matters which affect particularly the black private colleges. For many years these colleges, especially those of academic excellence, have been the gateways to upward mobility for young blacks; their mission was to bring young leadership into the majority society and professional attainment, not to reimmerse them in the community problems from which they came. Not every black college sees itself in an active role in community service, nor should it, although many black college students in recent years have demonstrated their deep commitment to such a change.

However, there are many signs of interest in community service programs. George Parker, coordinator of Title I programs at Southern University in New Orleans, recently polled 86 black colleges and received 69 responses on this subject.

Twenty of the respondents had ongoing community service programs; fifteen of those were land grant collegs. Fourteen of the respondents had urban studies programs. Thus, about a quarter of black colleges have some form of community outreach program, compared to a national figure of about 55 percent. But, significantly, 45 other respondents expressed definite interest in developing such programs. What is the federal government doing to reach them or take account of their potential?

Several steps could be taken which would doubtless benefit the whole program, as wll as black college participation. State planning agencies, now largely made up of male white educators, need to broaden their membership to include more forceful representation of minorities and those affected by their choice of priorities. (The National Advisory Committee to the program has already recommended this). States need to make longer-range plans, and need authorization for two or three-year grants if they are to develop real capacity and experience in institutions. Since the majority of projects are undertaken in new areas of concern, without demonstrable expertise on the part of the "established institutions," there should be a more conscious definition of new institutional roles to be developed, deliberately creating capacity in the institutions with the most potential.

More sizeable funds and more sizeable institutional grants, together with exceptions to the matching fund requirements, would also make the program more credible. It is difficult to see how a $1,333 grant for a "Consumer Education Program" can show any results. Tiny grants to placate deprived institutions and communities are no substitute for serious federal and state policy commitments.

B. Head Start

Head Start started life in one of the skirmishes of the War-on-Poverty over at OEO. Barely surviving the new Administration, Head Start was lateralled over to HEW and tacked on to the Office of the Secretary in July of 1969. Head Start was teamed with the old Children's Bureau (1912) to form a new thing called The Office of Child Development (OCD). OCD may now be looped over to SRS, Office of Education, or even Labor. The more important child care and development became nationally, the more curious became the bureaucratic treatment of the first major federal program in early childhood education.

In its under-staffed way FICE lost track of Head Start. It may have been included in 1969 FICE figures for OEO, but by 1970, after the move to HEW, it disappeared. Now that they have been told where Head Start is being kept, FICE may find it in time for the 1971 official report.

> "Project Head Start is a year-round program for pre-school children aged three and above. Head Start was designed as a massive social experiment to break the cycle of poverty. Strong, healthy and still pioneering, Head Start five years later is synonymous with innovative pre-school child development efforts . . . Head Start contains six major components: Health, Nutrition, Education, Parent Involvement, Social Services, Psychological Services."
>
> From a Head Start brochure, 1970

In FY 1971 Head Start had a budget of $360 million. With that it operated 1,663 full-year or summer programs for 415,800 children. Sixty percent of the sites were urban, forty percent rural. Over four million children have been served by the program during six years.

Head Start has employed 8,595 professionals and 14,719 non-professionals, and used 27,301 volunteers. (At one time, it was the second largest industry in Mississippi.) Black colleges have been used in its various aspects since its inception. But the records of that involvement are lost in the dimness of old computer printouts and general lack of institutional memory. Now black colleges have their most significant involvement in the "Career Development" of the 23,314 paid staffers mentioned above.

There are three different Career Development (teacher training) programs that colleges can get involved in: Supplementary Training, Leadership Development and Regional Training Offices.

Supplementary Training

For some years now, Head Start Supplementary Training (HSST) has been contracted out to a joint venture of Social Dynamics, Inc. and University Research Corp., Inc. called Supplementary Training Associates (STA). The program provides academic training leading to a two-year or four-year degree in early childhood development for people working in Head Start programs. HSST is a college-based work/study program that seeks to:

1. Improve the overall quality of local Head Start programs.
2. Strengthen the capacity and skill of Head Start staff.
3. Provide college education and training to full-year Head Start employees.
4. Develop the potential of each trainee for increased earning power and job security.
5. Provide an arena for college and university change in teaching methods and curricula that might effect institutional changes to meet the needs of the "new" student.

"That credential is a ticket. We live in a society in which such a ticket is important. You cannot get anywhere without a ticket, and while all the heavyweights discuss what's good and what's bad about those tickets, folks must have them to make it."

-- an address by Harold Bardonille, Director of STA

Colleges are selected which are willing to tailor their course to meet the special needs of Head Start staff and to work closely with Center directors in areas where course work and actual experience can be combined.

Until September 1970 black schools had apparently never received any grants to operate Supplementary Training Programs. At that point, soon after STA was formed to run the HSST, its black Director, Harold Bardonille, noticed the absence of black schools. He also noticed that the University of Alabama had a contract without any black students, trainees or staff. As 43-45 percent of the kids in Head Start are black and over 40 percent of the staffers are black, it seemed appropriate to line up some black institutions for 1971:

Coahoma Junior College	$ 25,171
Mary Holmes College	22,032
Mississippi Industrial College	12,678
Rust College	44,293
Tuskegee Institute	27,081
Tougaloo College	20,337
Southern University	31,142
Texas Southern University	12,145
Total:	$194,879

Of the total $536,662 that STA awarded in Region IV (Atlanta), black colleges received over one-third. The fact that the

regional OCD director in Atlanta is a vigorous black woman also accounts for some change.

In addition, about eight black colleges are "Cooperating Colleges" that receive small grants to handle some trainees. The Cooperating Institutions provide academic credits to nearby students who are too far away from the grantee institutions; they are reimbursed by the project schools. Thus there is the nice situation where one program is managed by Rust College, with the University of Mississippi as the Cooperating College.

Leadership Development

The Leadership Development Program provides Head Start staff with an intensive course of study in child development, health, social services and community action. It is more advanced training than HSST and not focused on getting a college diploma.

OCD has established Leadership Development porgrams at Southern ($295,000), Tuskegee ($216,000) and Kentucky State ($106,000). In FY 1972 it established something called an Area Training Center at Atlanta University for $208,000. We understand that the Leadership Programs may be phased out.

Regional Training Centers

Then there are Regional Training Centers which support the Regional Training Officers, who are sort-of circuit riders to local Head Start centers. Funded for FY 1971 were:

Cheney State College	$32,000
Texas Southern University	46,000
South Carolina State	60,000
Southern University	60,000
Federal City College	40,000

These Regional Training Centers provide technical assistance to local programs. The RTO can use the facilities of the college to help solve specific program problems. There is generally a small staff of four or five people, with an office. They seek out special resources on the campus, provide access to the library for the RTO circuit riders, provide on-the-job help, hold conferences, set up courses. (This is all necessary because as somebody pointed out, University Departments of Education never go into the field.)

Conclusions

These Head Start programs have been very beneficial to the colleges. They have encouraged the development of new courses and stronger departments. They have brought people

onto the campus that would not have been there otherwise. Head Start staffers have often been people who wouldn't have gotten involved in any other program. For many black mothers, Head Start has been the chance of a lifetime. It may be reckoned that for many college education departments, white and black, Head Start also provided a new apprenticeship in the service of community.

With over $1 million out in grants and contracts to black colleges, Head Start cannot be considered an agency which ignores these institutions. OCD has no policy toward them, however, and none of its equally important research funds go to black institutions. Head Start is a controversial part of a controversial agency. New legislation on child development comes and goes in Congress, but it is clear that child development and day care are going to be large items in Washington over the next decade. Black children and parents have a lot at stake in what happens, and black institutions should be a stronger presence in the critical policy decisions now being made. OCD is something of a political football these days - lots of vested interests are pushing at it, and there is every reason why black colleges should try to get some standing in the outcome.

C. School Desegregation Assistance
Civil Rights Act (1964) Title IV
Emergency School Assistance Act

In the process of school desegregation and the necessary revolution in educational practices that makes possible the slow conversion of a dual to a unitary public school system, the black colleges might have played a significant role. Instead, federal grants and assistance have gone primarily to existing school administrations and school boards, and to white public universities.

There was no special help for black teachers who lost their jobs through desegregation until 1970. There was a prohibition on grants to black community groups, parents and students in all the funds from 1964 to 1971.

The prevailing style of aid has been, and still largely is, that funds should go primarily to public school officials in order to help them (often reluctantly and only under judicial mandate) bring about the necessary changes.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which applies the power of the federal purse to school desegregation, also acknowledged that conversion would be difficult and financially burdensome to some school systems. Title IV of the Act therefore provides money for technical assistance, training institutes and grants to school boards to solve problems occasioned

by school desegregation. Although substantial funds were granted directly to school districts and state agencies, an early emphasis of the program was the establishment of university desegregation centers, where expertise and assistance could be concentrated within a state for the benefit of all districts within that state. Through these centers, universities were supposed to supply consultative service, summer and year-round teacher and personnel institutes, and materials, curriculum and textbooks more suitable to a unitary system.

University centers are supposed to benefit from the "cooperative relationships which exist between university schools of education and school districts in the same region." Since school administrators in the South rarely had cooperative relationships with black colleges, teacher training departments, they rarely called on them; the federal government as well as white school administrators saw them as part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

In the years from 1965 to 1971 less than five percent of Center funds went to black colleges and they have received only 22 percent of other grants to colleges for training institutes for school personnel.

In 1970, President Nixon announced a new program called the Emergency School Assistance Program. At a moment when the courts were finally driving toward "terminal desegregation plan implementation" those districts which had managed to evade the law for a decade were to be helped to come into compliance. Congress did not pass the large bill which the Administration requested, but it did redirect $75 million from already legislated programs to fund a preliminary effort. In the next year (1971-72) almost by default, an additional $75 million was spent under a continuing resolution while the larger bill remained a subject of debate. The administration of this program was given to an enlarged Office of Equal Educational Opportunity in the Office of Education. The older Title IV grants Centers and school districts were mingled with the new program, under rather confusing legislative auspices.

Under considerable pressure from civil rights groups which had long supported troubled minority students and their parents, the Administration set aside for the first time a sum of money (ten percent of $75 million) to go directly to community groups seeking to solve those same problems occasioned by school desegregation - to support their meetings, counseling services, minority student programs and tutorials, and to help them define and enforce acceptable teacher and staff behavior in racially mixed groups.

This was the year, however, when the Administration had made a public commitment to black colleges, and this program was chosen to honor a substantial portion of the commitment. That it was money already earmarked for minority groups, that it was designed to aid non-professionals bridge that destructive gap between their concerns and school personnel behavior, only seemed to make it more vulnerable to bureaucratic accommodation. The original $75 million for ESAP was gathered together from educational and poverty programs already allocated to problems affecting blacks; ten percent of it which was designated for community people themselves became part of another reshuffling of the small percentage of federal funds devoted to minority priorities.

Thus under the ESAP program $2 million was found for black colleges out of the community program funds. Under Title IV, where the competition had been white universities, it took six years to put together $1 million.

During 1971 and 1972 the administration of that $2 million in grants to black colleges provided another sad story. White consultants in the Office of Education took grant applications from black colleges through a curious and probably illegal process. At least a half dozen black college grantees were persuaded to add large sub-contracts to their programs - sub-contractors suggested by Office of Education officials. The

sub-contracts were for "evaluation," and were to consulting firms in which these same OE consultants apparently had financial and legal interests.

That story is complicated and still unwinding. The point here is that the victims of the game, selected by those unconcerned about conflict-of-interest niceties, were black colleges. None of them rang the bell on this scandal. For that matter, nobody in OE rang the bell in spite of some efforts by more honest staff members to bring it to the attention of higher officials. In this case the colleges evidently accepted their weakness and chose to accommodate to instructions from Washington that many of them must have perceived to be dubious. Accommodation to political reality is an old story for black institutions; that was the price of survival. But is it the price of survival now? Would they have had the power to get their grants if they had opposed the sub-contract which was not their own desire? That question needs to be tested, and that issue needs to be brought into the open.

D. Justice Department Manpower Programs

There are two manpower programs at Justice that use colleges. The first is the Law Enforcement Education Program, a part of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. LEEP provides both grants and loans for college studies by police, courts and corrections employees and students preparing for careers in those fields.

The loans provide up to $1,800 per academic year for tuition, fees, etc. for students "enrolled in a graduate or undergraduate program leading to a degree or certificate in a program of study directly related to law enforcement. . . Preference is given to police, corrections and courts personnel on academic leave from their agency." The loans are cancelled at the rate of 25 percent per year of service in law enforcement.

LEEP also provides grants of $600 a year to enable people already working in law enforcement to further their education in job-related fields. Thus, an officer could study sociology, business administration, urban planning, etc. if he could demonstrate that it would be useful to his work, and will sign a promissory note agreeing to return to his employing agency for two years.

Black colleges have increased their participation from nine grants in 1969 to 38 in 1972.

TABLE II

Year	No.of Black College Grantees	Funds to Black Colleges	Total Number Schools	Total funds	Percent Black
1969	9	$149,300	485	$ 6,480,667	2.3
1970	22	473,536	735	20,979,047	2.3
1971	32	549,232	894	26,447,478	2.1
1972	38	658,704	961	28,337,240	2.3

The other manpower development program at Justice is just beginning: An Eduational Development Program authorized by the Onmibus Crime Control Act of 1970. This is a program to develop improved methods of law enforcement education by:

* development of new degree programs in criminal justice and the expansion, revision or strengthening of existing programs in criminal justice,
* research into criminal justice education,
* education and improvement of faculty,
* expanding established criminal justice programs into Center of Excellence.

Beginning about two years ago, the Community Relations Service began to lean on the Justice Department about its lack of support for black colleges. They saw a large, mostly untapped potential of students, positive community relations and faculty expertise that could be used for the education of black law enforcement people.

Apparently police programs like LEEP had not been too popular on the black college campuses. Training only black cops without programs in law, prisons, juvenile delinquency, etc. can be difficult. Besides LEEP money can't build academic departments, it can only pay for students. Some development money needed to go to black schools to allow them to build programs.

Much of the money in the Educational Development Progam is in the "Centers of Excellence" section, where black colleges couldn't meet the criteria. Therefore, a special effort has been made to shift some of the available Centers of Excellence money to the black colleges to enable them to establish or store up criminal justice programs. About $200,000 has been set aside for FY 1972 for this process. $100,000 has already been sent to the Atlanta Regional Office where a mechanism for distributing the money is being devised. The other $100,000 will go to the Dallas Region and to Pennsylvania.

The program is aimed at schools that can develop more people for future jobs in criminal justice, for prevention of crime rather than police training. The criminal justice programs are designed to bring together employers (courts and prisons, etc.) the schools, the students and the community.

E. Action

Action is a mothball fleet of New Frontier ideas whose hulks now lie in rusty waters. The agencies had lost their spring, so it was sensible to get them together:Peace Corps, VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America), and some assorted geriatric programs, i.e. Foster Grandparents, Retired Senior Volunteer Program and the Service Corps of Retired Executives. They all moved into the old Peace Corps headquarters, where the myth that volunteers can save America is kept alive.

It is instructive to take a look at how Peace Corps and VISTA get their jobs done. Specifically, did they ever see black colleges as relevant to what they were supposed to be about? Did they give much of their business to black colleges?

The answer to both questions is no, particularly in the early years. First let's take a look at Peace Corps, then VISTA, then a new program that is relating to black colleges, University Year for Action.

Peace Corps

Since 1961, 21 contracts have gone to nine black schools out of a total 1,000 that Peace Corps has awarded, at the rate of $5 million to $7 million a year. That makes a total

of about $2,850,000 to black schools over ten years, with Lincoln, Shaw and Texas Southern getting the largest share.

According to FICE, in 1969 Lincoln got a contract for $320,035 or 5.3 percent. In 1970 four contracts of $923,647 went to black colleges; in 1971 three contracts totaled $444,000. This decline can be attributed to a lessened interest in university-based training programs in general; all Action programs are turning towards private firms for training or, in the case of Peace Corps, to overseas training programs. Peace Corps has had a continuing relationship with Lincoln University which specializes in training for Liberia and Caribbean Peace Corps programs.

What are the reasons for this scimpy involvement with black colleges? The principal lesson here is that liberal programs with liberal administrators have more concern with the end results as they have defined them, than with the means of attaining them. When they looked around for training sites, they looked to big schools with large staffs and area experts, Asian and African Centers, etc. They were themselves products of costly educations so they imagined that Peace Corps Volunteers would be more successful if they had all that an intensive summer at, say UCLA could give them in terms of language training, psychological testing, good food, exercise and famous lecturers. Black colleges were thought not to provide such an institutional setting. Prairie

View indeed has not the learning environment of UCLA, but it might have been better for everyone - the agency, the volunteers, the host country and Prairie View - to have tried it.

Peace Corps officials have said black colleges were not involved more because they didn't actively seek contracts like white schools. By law they can't give developmental grants, and start-up costs of a Peace Corps program are high; they would have to run on their own reserves for 30-60 days until Peace Corps money could get to the project. One can imagine that $50,000 might be necessary to start up a program; black schools often don't have that kind of money around.

Were Peace Corps training programs valuable for the colleges involved? Yes, without a doubt. Often college faculty could get flown to the host country for a look around. This could mean two or three trips to Africa at government expense. The program invests money in the school budget. Books are bought and left behind. Peace Corps programs have been the starts of Area Studies departments.

One of the most important Peace Corps training programs was the one conducted in 1965 at Morehouse. It happened because a high Peace Corps official, Franklin Williams, was put on the spot, challenged at a banquet by Dr. Benjamin Mays,

president of Morehouse College. Dr. Mays publicly asked Williams why so few black schools had gotten training contracts, so Peace Corps came to Atlanta. It was a successful program all around, though there were some delicate times. Peace Corps wanted the volunteers to stay with poor people near the campus; Morehouse thought that they would be happier with middle class blacks who lived in the suburbs. Eventually Peace Corps convinced the college to let the trainees live in the ghetto. Morehouse fielded a competent staff, hired outside consultants, used ex-Peace Corps Volunteers, and sub-contracted to a black community center in Atlanta for some services.

But predictably, the volunteer trainees got involved in some civil rights issues in Atlanta, or at least that was the information that appeared in the Washington Post. Shriver, then Director of Peace Corps, put some pressure on the program to keep out of local affairs. One night some staff people, black and white, were picked up in a car by Georgia police. One of the staffers was an African, the son of a diplomat. Peace Corps wouldn't help the group to get out of jail. At last the diplomat father pulled some strings and got the carload released after some tense times in a Southern jail. Peace Corps became a bit wary of "activist" programs at black colleges, which seemed to be "incident producing." Peace Corps was never an agency to rock a boat.

Peace Corps Internship Program

Peace Corps has never attracted many black volunteers. Today there are 113 blacks in the Peace Corps. Few black kids could see the value of deferring a career for two years, working to improve America's image overseas. So a new program of Peace Corps Internship identifies students after the junior year. They get two summer schools, all fees paid and either a year or a semester's tuition, room and board and a weekly stipend. Soon a total of 18 schools will have these programs.

Texas Southern got the third contract, and programs are pending at Lincoln, Tennessee State, Prairie View, A & M and Florida A & M. This program is getting around the old rule against "institution building" and is finally using some staff technical assistance to cultivate requests and good proposals.

Texas Southern is becoming a model for the Action agency. They are going to spend more money there ($300,000 so far), leave a stronger institution by developing expertise in various areas like science education, community development and area studies. In terms of this one school, Action is making quite a contribution.

VISTA

VISTA hasn't had much to do with black schools. It is about half the size of Peace Corps; a budget of about $33,000,000 and about 4,000 volunteers. There are about 400 projects in 49 states. Volunteers serve one year plus a short orientation and training period, with a subsistence stipend, under a sponsoring "grassroots" organization.

People at VISTA can only remember two VISTA projects sponsored by black colleges; there have been no VISTA training programs at black schools. VISTA has large training programs, organized regionally, but they are moving away from university-based training programs. Some black firms are getting training contracts now.

The two projects in black schools, Shaw and North Carolina A & T, ended badly, and VISTA accepts full responsibility for the failure. The project grants were cultivated from Washington by staff who subsequently moved on; the grant proposals were amorphous. The project staff at Shaw College also moved on, and as problems arose between the community, the college and the volunteers none of the original cast of characters was there to monitor and supervise.

Training contracts are more fertile territory, and none of them have as yet gone to a black college.

University Year for Action

There is probably no connection, but the Shaw and North Carolina A & T type projects, combining work-study students and community development has reappeared in a new (late 1971) Action agency called University Year for Action. Five of the first twenty-five grants were made to black schools. The Total grants to universities which have been made so far amount to $2,575,796. The amount that has gone to predominantly black universities is as follows:

	Planning	Operation Grants
Howard/Federal City College/ Morgan	$ 44,201	$ 219,964
Malcolm X	12,139	77,703
Texas Southern	11,012	67,290
Total Grants	$ 68,012	$ 364,957

Twenty-seven percent of the Volunteers under the program are black. Reading from one of their releases:

> "A new concept of student volunteerism is emerging from University Year for Action, the innovative, federally-supported program that joins voluntary action with the educational process."

From another release:

> "UYA is VISTA with educational credit. Administered by universities, UYA is full-time, full year service to the poor. Volunteers work for neighborhood action groups,....etc. They receive subsistance allowance, now slightly

> lower than VISTA volunteers, and live in the poverty community...UYA....appeals to the more innovative colleges and universities. Without a national solicitation for bids or substantial publicity, during the first three months 170 colleges and universities sought a UYA program, offering full or nearly-full credit. Hundreds more would be interested if they knew aobut it.
>
> ACTION believes that the volunteer service system of the United States must be on a more decentralized, locally-responsive management system if it is to have any chance of substantially aiding in the fight against poverty. UYA therefore place between the federal government and the volunteer and his immediate supervisor, a new and highly significant institution, the university, potentially one of the great benefactors of the poor." (sic)

Some early evaluations and polls show that UYA is working well in the community and that the program is popular with students. But the last line quoted above, suggesting that the university is potentially one of the great benefactors of the poor, should be read in the light of the Chinese experience: once they decided to help the poor, they closed the universities and have not reopened them as universities that we would recognize.

But it is noteworthy that this program has immediately given black schools a chance to participate at full funding levels. It is surely more appropriate for them to try to help the poor than the University Alabama, Pitzer, Johns Hopkins and Kent State, and other UYA grantees.

F. Manpower Training

The problem of training or retraining the unemployed or badly-employed poor ought to be a matter of interest to black colleges, particularly in view of their historic success with students whose public school education is not adequate.

Federal efforts through the Manpower Development and Training Act to fund these colleges have indeed given them an opportunity to develop new capacity, with results that are not very encouraging.

MDTA funds are administered partly in the Office of Education, but chiefly in the Department of Labor. The Office of Education runs training programs rather like vocational education programs, coordinated at the state level and usually managed by public schools and technical institutes. Since 1969 there has evidently been considerable pressure to increase black college participation in this program (for those few projects which operate at the college level) and by 1972, about one million out of a total of 15 million is being spent in black colleges.

But the more interesting study is the Department of Labor, which has the responsibility for developing research and training capacity through grants and contracts, and for

adjusting labor skills to a changing labor market.

In the first year of MDTA, (1963) a commitment was made by the Experimental and Developmental grants division to see if black colleges would be good sites for manpower training programs for the disadvantaged. Of seven institutions given funds in a prototype program, six were to Morgan State, Tuskegee, North Carolina A & T, Florida A & M, Tennessee A & T, Bluefield State. The training projects were aimed at hard-core rural unemployed, were residential for the most part, and lasted from several weeks to several months. Funds in the Experimental and Development program total about $15 million a year, although only a small fraction of that goes to colleges and universities. These seven early projects in black colleges received about $1.5 million each. That total turned out to be significantly more than [50] percent of the money spent on college grants from 1963 to the present.

The results were such that these colleges have not developed into important MDTA training sites. Extensive evaluation by the Bureau of Social Science Research was negative about all but the Tuskegee program. Problems were cited of the image of the institutions (too "activist" for local whites, too "uppity" for poor blacks), of the administrative lack of direction, of limited staff resources, of

inadequate communications with potential employers and social service agencies, of insufficient personnel recruitment and counseling. A current model training center, the Oak Ridge Associated Universities, illustrates at least one critical factor which the black college programs lacked: spare plant capacity for training new personnel to higher level job entry.

In 1966, seven additional grants of $75,000 annually were announced for a five year period to strengthen academic capacity for research and training. Administrators of the program sought proposals from black colleges; when none were forthcoming they made additional visits and provided technical assistance in proposal writing. As a result, Atlanta University and Norfolk State College were among the seven grantees. These projects, which were to provide support for undergraduates and master's candidates who would provide leadership in the manpower field, produced modest results in terms of individuals with advanced training committed to the field.

In August, 1970, a similar program was initiated in twelve colleges. This time the grants were based on existing excellence rather than new capacity, and one university was chosen in each of ten MDTA regions. In addition, in order not to exclude black colleges, grants were given to Virginia State College and North Carolina A & T State. In this phase of the program progress reports are not yet available.

Between 1969 and 1971, E & D contracts and grants on a smaller scale were awarded to Howard University for an innovative program in "New Careers for the Disadvantaged in Human Service" and to Tuskegee to design an "Experimental Program for Rural Southern Heads of Household with Low Marketable Skills".

In MDTA funding of research, the record is less commendable. That part of the program which supports doctoral dissertations gave no grants to black colleges. Over nine years black colleges received seven grants out of 106 in basic research: to study the utilization of skills in their own graduating classes, to study the racial structure of labor force migration, to study questions related to disadvantaged trade applicants and career goals of black college women.

Over the same years some 231 research contracts were given, only four of them to black colleges, to study teenage unemployemnt, rural questions, and occupational choice question. Once again, research about problems of blacks has been done by whites.

The Department of Labor has on the whole not been satisfied with its black college grants, in spite of what it considers many years of trying. They now rely on regional

training centers, none of them black, and give only small grants to black colleges on peripheral subjects. They probably could not be persuaded to change that picture without some independent study of the reasons for past disappointments and some very high-level discussion of new methods and commitment.

Adult Basic Education

ABE, too, is out of the War-on-Poverty. It was established by the Adult Education Act of 1966.

> "The purpose of the Act is to establish and expand programs of Adult public education so that adults can continue their education through completion of secondary school and secure job training to help them become more employable, productive and responsible citizens. This program offers to persons 16 years of age and older the opportunity to overcome English language difficulties and attain reading, writing, and computational skills through the 8th grade level of instruction. ABE is primarily a State grant program. Plans developed by the State education agency, in cooperation with local school systems, are approved by the Office of Education. The State must provide 10 percent of the cost of the program, and retains total responsibility for planning, administration, supervision, teacher training, curriculum development, evaluation and fiscal accounting.
>
> The Office of Education also awards grants to schools, colleges, universities and public and private nonprofit organizations for special projects and teacher-training projects."
>
> -- A melange of brochures, 1971

For FY 1972, appropriations are $61,300,000. About $50,000,000 goes into the basic state grants, with about $10,000,0000 for OE administered projects.

Most funds go to local school systems. In FY 1970 FICE figures show that only $1,989,000 went to colleges; $249,000 went to black schools. Clearly that figure should have been higher. Alert readers have noticed that this is a "State Plan" operation. And in the South, there is the rub.

As late as 1969, black schools with their obvious relevance and competence to ABE, had not received any projects. The Southern Regional Education Board made a proposal to OE in that year called "A Regional Approach for the Improvement of ABE in HEW Region IV". Of the 22 colleges selected to participate in the program, six were black. It was funded at $2,300,000 for three years. One of the designers of the program was Dr. Ted Pinnock of Tuskegee. Just before the start of the program, the University of Alabama objected to Tuskegee's being involved, and they pushed it out on the basis that it was a "private" school. At the time, Tuskegee had one of the more competent staffs in the region in ABE.

The SREB program allows campuses to conduct off-campus courses, on-campus courses, summer institutes, in-service seminars for teachers, consultant visits, etc. The six black schools and their FY 1971 funding is as follows:

	Project Funds	State Contributions	Institution Contribution
Florida A & M	$ 27,303	$ 23,168	$ 7,578
Albany State	11,863	19,155	6,609
Kentucky State	21,016	-	1,464
Jackson State	33,589	-	7,907
Elizabeth City	20,700	10,500	2,246
South Carolina State	36,437	-	18,590

Was this a case of SREB being more progressive than white controlled State Education Boards? Or again, should we question why it took SREB to get some grants into black colleges?

The only other important involvement of a black school with ABE is the Special Project at Tuskegee. When Tuskegee got turned out of the SREB program, it lucked out. It now has direct grant money from Washington in a three-year program called "The Mid-Alabama Adult and Vocational Education Demonstration and Training Center". The first year it was funded at $314,000 (FY 1971) and in FY 1972 for $248,000. A synopis of its proposal:

> "Tuskegee Institute proposes to train annually at least 20 instructors in adult education at the master's degree level. Paraprofessionals will also be trained to meet the need for skilled ABE personnel. The project is directed toward providing basic education for at least 50 percent of the illiterate located within Tuskegee's region. The remainder will be referred to the State ABE program. In cooperation with ABE, the program is to provide training opportunities for at least 400 adults, culminating, when possible in a job placement. Surplus food preparation will also be taught to prevent the waste of what is, for many, a sole food source."

A note on the size of ABE nationally: ABE provided basic education to about 2,250,000 adult students throughout the United States from 1966 through 1970. Approximately 606,000 adults were registered in 1971, with another 41,000 in special projects. Black communities are terribly interested in adult literacy. Surely there is room for more black college interest.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

All of the various programs suggested in this catalogue are not yet fruits ripe for plucking. But they demonstrate the great range of opportunities and issues which need attention. Federal consciousness of minority issues in general and of black colleges in particular is certainly increasing -- although the pace is sometimes glacial.

We have in this paper reviewed some government social agencies where signs of progress are already visible: Model Cities, Social Rehabilitation, the Environmental Protection Agency, the new Minority center of NIMH. Consortium planning in rural development (OEO) and community development (EDA) may produce some significant change. And there are other education and medical education programs covered in Small Change which promised increased support of black institutions.

We have also described some pieces of the federal government machinery which seem almost totally unresponsive to black college concerns: the Departments of Transportation and Interior, programs of vocational and environmental education, and huge programs in health services and mental health.

Finally we have examined some education programs (Head Start, Adult Education, Equal Opportunity), the small

Community Service program, the field of manpower training in general, law enforcement training, and Action's service programs -- where some instructive experience, of a mixed and debatable nature, has recently taken place.

In summary, it is clear that black college relationships with the social agencies of government need still more public attention and pressure. In order to get past the pleasant government thinking reflected in the FICE report (things are going well, black colleges are getting student aid and Title III increases and that should take care of them) a certain amount of continuing confrontation will be necessary. Tough talk at high levels, between black educators and politicians working with agency heads and Secretaries, could open up more of the deeper issues. But that won't help without college group representatives walking the corridors steadily and in some numbers, talking and listening all the time. Such activities are already going on through NAFEOHE and TACTICS, but there is room for an even larger involvement.

Another useful improvement might be to concentrate on improving FICE itself. A tough black staff member in charge of the data collection process, occupied solely with this issue rather than divided among various loyalties, would be a useful ally.

But the most effective pressure can come from groups of faculty in several colleges, all interested in the same area of development, all ready to initiate new programs with proper funding. Such a group, prepared to take time and be persistent backed up by organized high-level pressure, might penetrate the research and social planning jungle in Washington and emerge with significant support.

But even were that accomplished, and black college participation enormously increased, the underlying question would remain: when black colleges are in that club will they be willing and able to change it? Commitment to activism and social change through educational institutions is a large undertaking, full of pitfalls. But the Brazos Bottoms of America are still there. They are still waiting for some new combination of public and private initiative to remove the limitations on those who live there. Whether black colleges rely on their graduates to take individual initiative, or whether they undertake institutional process of their own, they have a stake in social change.

Selected Federal Aid Programs

(In thousands of dollars)

	1969			1970			1971		
	Black	Total	Percent	Black	Total	Percent	Black	Total	Percent
Dept. of Commerce Technical Service	0	1,040	.0	295.0	3,609.0	8.2	430.0	14,574.0	3.0
Economic Development Administration	146	1,757	8.3						
Environmental Health Agency	78	20,875	.4	60.0	22,960.0	.3			
Health Services/Mental Health	3,822	274,539	1.4	5,576.0	243,104.0	2.3	11,193.7	264,092.0	4.2
Community Service/Continuing Education	226	8,500	2.7						
Adult Basic Education	352	37,500							
Social & Rehabilitation Service (Programs for the aging, community service, rehabilitation)	842	68,222	1.2	813.0	52,135.7	1.6	1,559.2	57,325.0	2.9
Department of Interior (Parks, lands, mines, water)	10	32,053	.03	107.8	32,585.9	.3	20.0	25,963.9	.1
Department of Justice (Law enforcement training)	204	6,482	3.1	498.1	20,979.0	2.3	549.2	24,645.0	2.1
Department of Labor (Manpower training/research)	1,715	34,546	5.0	1,790.5	41,972.3	4.3	1,748.6	29,993.2	5.8
Department of Transportation	0	13,204	.0	455.0	10,148.0	4.5	242.0	9,886.0	2.4
Office of Economic Opportunity (Migrants, high school equivalency, Head Start, Upward Bound, General technical assistance)	6,869	73,887	9.3	5,189.0	33,945.0	15.3	6,981.0	36,444.0	19.2
Bureau of Education Personnel Institutes and Fellowships	3,452	77,920	4.4						
Teacher Corps	901	20,814	4.3						
Upward Bound	4,754	30,723	15.5						
Talent Search	230	3,876	6.0						
Training for the Handicapped	360	79,795							